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ENTITLED COMPARABLE WORTH: PAY EQUITY FOR WOMEN

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COMPARABLE WORTH: PAY EQUITY FOR WOMEN

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In the United States, citizens pride themselves on the equality which democracy provides. This equality does not extend to all members of our society. Women, who comprise over one-half of our nation's population continue to earn far less than men. Women now seek 'equal pay for work of comparable value' - pay equal to that of men who perform jobs which require the same amount of effort, skill, and responsibility. Comparable worth must replace the twenty-year-old concept of 'equal pay for equal work' which has failed to equalize salaries of men and women because they do not perform the same work. "Allowing the strict interpretation placed upon the Equal Pay Act provisions only perpetuates discrimination against the majority of working women now holding predominantly female and hence, low paying jobs."¹ That women continue to earn only 59¢ to the \$1.00 that a man earns is proof of the failure of the Equal Pay Act of 1963. Comparable worth aims to correct these inequities by changing the value given to job qualities that typically make up women's work.

Comparable worth is not a new concept. The U.S. War Labor Board was created to ensure industrial stability for the duration of World War II. The board used job evaluation techniques to equalize wage and salary rates paid to females with the rates paid to males for "comparable quality and quantity of work on the same or similar operation."² After World War II ended, the use of comparable worth as a standard for determining wages ended. The concept, however, was not forgotten.

An equal pay bill, using the comparable worth concept was introduced in every congress following 1945. Senators Claude Pepper and Wayne Morse introduced the first of these bills which declared that it would be an unfair labor practice to pay a woman less than a man for work of comparable value. No conclusive action was taken on the bill.³ Similar legislation was introduced in congress for the next seventeen years until 1962 when the word 'comparable' was changed to equal in proposed legislation. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 protects women only when they are performing work that is equal to or virtually indistinguishable from work performed by men. The Equal Pay Act was followed by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which forbids discrimination in employment, including discrimination in compensation based on the sex of a worker. Controversy arose over a section of Title VII known as the Bennett Amendment which provides that sex-based wage differentials would not violate Title VII if such differentiation is "authorized" by the Equal Pay Act. The dispute is whether the Bennett Amendment means that claims are legitimate only if they meet the equal work standard of the Equal Pay Act or whether the Bennett Amendment simply incorporates the four affirmative defenses of the Equal Pay Act.⁴ The United States Supreme Court adopted the latter position in the County of Washington v. Gunther case (1981) which will be discussed later in this paper.

I will examine the importance of comparable worth as both

a policy issue and a philosophical concept that could improve the lives of women in the United States.

The policy section of the paper includes discussion of the extent of the pay equity problem with an emphasis on the male-female earnings gap and the resulting poverty of women. Next, analysis of the causes of pay inequity shows that occupational segregation in both the private market and the federal government is the primary determinant of the earnings gap. Explanations for occupational segregation include socialization and discrimination. The use of job evaluation studies to identify and alleviate wage discrimination is also discussed. The final policy section describes four strategies to achieve pay equity: litigation, legislation, union bargaining, and the role of the federal government. Additionally, arguments against comparable worth are analyzed and refuted. The policy section of the paper concludes that comparable worth is a desirable policy which would provide the opportunity for millions of women to earn fair salaries in the occupation of their choice.

The philosophical section of the paper involves discussion of the relationship between concepts of equality and comparable worth. Equality is defined in several ways with connections made between the different definitions of equality and the different measures of equality. The goal of comparable worth is economic equality for women as determined by examining policy outcomes. Next, further consequences of pay equity

on equality for women are discussed. The focus of this discussion is the idea that economic well-being and correct valuation of women's jobs will lead to increased self-confidence of women and a change in their social roles. The benefits of pay equity will alleviate maternity discrimination, sexual harassment, wife abuse, and inequities in the home. Both the policy and philosophical sections of the paper reach the same conclusion: pay equity will improve the lives of women in this country.

PAY EQUITY - A POLICY THAT WOMEN NEED

Women earn less than men. Although the percentage of women in the work force has increased, the earnings gap persists. The result of the earnings gap is the disproportionate poverty of women compared to men. The most important factor behind the earnings gap is the segregation of women in low paying jobs. Comparable worth alleviates the earnings gap by revaluing the jobs which are held predominantly by women. The assumption is that jobs filled mainly by women are low paying because they are women's jobs. Strategies to achieve pay equity include litigation, legislation, collective-bargaining by unions, and use of the Federal government as a leader in establishing comparable worth as a standard for determining wage rates. Opposition to pay equity is offered by businesses

which fear that comparable worth will disrupt market determinations of wage rates. I suggest, however, that the need for pay equity outweighs the cost to businesses. Comparable worth is a necessary remedy for the inequities suffered by women in the work force.

Earnings Gap

Pay inequity is not new. Margaret Mead, in her article, "Prehistory and the Woman," wrote that "Whatever men do - even if it is dressing dolls for religious ceremonies - it is more prestigious than what women do and is treated as a higher achievement."⁵ Even the Bible, in Leviticus 27:3-4 states that women earned thirty shekels for every fifty earned by men. This disparity in pay has continued through present times. In fact, the proportion of women's earnings to those of men is roughly the same today as the figure given in the Bible. Women earn 59¢ for every dollar that a man earns. The Current Population Survey (CPS) found that the percentage of earnings has decreased from 63% ten years ago to the current 59%.⁶ A comparison of women's earnings to those of white men shows even further disparities.

As Table 1 shows, white, black, and hispanic women were paid 55.6, 52.4, and 48.2 respectively of what white men earned.

The most comprehensive study on wage discrimination is the 1981 National Academy of Sciences' report, Women, Work and

Table 1

Mean Earnings of Year-Round Full-Time Civilian Workers
18 Years Old and Over, 1978

Race	Men	Women	Percentage of Earnings of White Men	
			Men	Women
All races	\$17,547	\$9,939	97.7	55.3
White	17,959	9,992	100.0	55.6
Black	12,898	9,338	71.8	52.4
Spanish Origin*	13,002	8,654	72.4	48.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980, Table 57⁷

*Persons of Spanish Origin may be of any race.

Table 2
Comparison of Median Income of Year-Round Full-Time Workers,
by Educational Attainment and Sex, 1977
(Persons 25 years of age and over)

Years of school completed	Median income		Income gap in dollars (3)	Women's income as a percent of men's (4)	Percent men's income exceeded women's (5)	Marginal dollar value of increased educational attainment	
	Women	Men				Women	Men
	(1)	(2)				(6)	(7)
Elementary school							
less than 8 years	\$6,071	\$9,419	\$3,345	64.5	55.1	--	--
8 years	6,564	12,083	5,519	54.3	84.1	\$490	\$2,664
High school							
1 to 3 years	7,387	13,120	5,733	56.3	77.6	823	1,037
4 years	8,891	15,434	6,540	57.6	73.5	1,507	2,314
College							
1 to 3 years	10,157	16,235	6,078	62.6	59.8	1,263	801
4 years	11,609	19,603	7,998	59.2	68.9	1,448	3,368
5 years or more	14,338	21,941	7,603	65.3	53.0	2,733	2,338

Notes: Column 3 = column 2 minus column 1.
Column 4 = column 1 divided by column 2.
Column 5 = column 2 minus column 1, divided by column 1.
Column 6 and 7 = absolute (median) dollar difference between successive years
of school completed.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports,
P-60, No. 118, 11.

Wages: Equal Pay for Jobs of Equal Value.⁸ The study, which was commissioned by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under President Carter's administration, was concerned with the extent to which discrimination caused the lower pay of women and minorities as compared with non-minority men. The report also examined remedies for the elimination of wage discrimination. NAS found that, "It is well established that in the United States today women earn less than men...."⁹ The report also found that (including reference to Table 1) over the last two decades, white women, black women, and women of other races have moved toward wage parity with each other. However, there is no evidence that the wage gap between women and white men is narrowing.¹⁰

The earnings gap has been found at every level of education. As Table 2 shows, women with college education earned less than men with an 8th grade education in 1977. Income levels are significantly lower for women despite educational achievements. Income figures for 1980 show similar disparities. High school education led to salaries of \$16,200 for men and only \$5,903 for women. Furthermore, among women with college and graduate school degrees, the median wage was \$11,000 in 1980. Male high school graduates earned 175% of the income earned by women with college and graduate degrees.¹² Education does not alleviate the earnings gap.

There are many examples of pay inequity. In Montgomery County, Maryland, in 1979, a liquor store clerk with two years

of experience and a high school diploma earns \$12,479, while a county school teacher with two years of experience and a college degree earns \$12,323. More than two-thirds of the county's school teachers are women and nearly all of its liquor store clerks are men. In Seattle, in 1979, traffic guides for the University of Washington received a starting salary of \$806-\$1032 per month for a job that the university rated at 89 points based on a comprehensive job evaluation study. Food service workers earned starting salaries of \$646-\$827 per month for jobs assigned 93 points. Most of the traffic guides were male and most of the food service workers were female.¹³

Nursing and teaching are two professions that have clearly been affected by wage disparities. The American Nurses Association writes, "The wage and salary concerns of all women are embodied in the wage and salary concerns of registered nurses. No other profession is so closely identified with working women. No other female occupation has provided such a glaring example of the failure of market forces to determine wage rates. Nowhere is it more obvious that the occupation is undervalued because it is work performed by women."¹⁴ The California Nurses' Association compared nurses' salaries to those of other male dominated professional and nonprofessional positions within hospitals. The nurses found that a pharmacist earned \$10,000 more than a comparably experienced nurse. Furthermore, a maintenance employee earned over \$2,500 more

than an experienced nurse and over \$7,000 more than an entry-level nurse. Over 90% of nurses are women. Most of the pharmacists and the maintenance employees were men.¹⁵

The teaching profession suffers similar inequities. The teaching profession is nearly 70% female. National Education Association data show that over 60% of teachers have master's degrees or above. However, the salaries earned by teachers are far lower than salaries earned by other professionals with similar or lower levels of education and training.¹⁶ Comparison of teachers' salaries with wages earned by workers in jobs requiring less education and fewer responsibilities shows further disparities.¹⁷ The average salary for a teacher is \$18,976 per year. The average salary for factory workers is \$25,582 and the average salary for construction workers is \$21,500.¹⁸ Teachers earn less than professionals with similar education and even less than workers without college education. Teachers and nurses view these disparities in pay as messages from society that their work is unimportant. The NEA writes, "The message is clear. Those people who are in life-saving, life-molding jobs, such as nursing and teaching, are told repeatedly in their pay checks that their work is of small importance to their society."¹⁹

Nursing, teaching, and other professions which are filled predominantly by women pay significantly less than jobs held predominantly by men. Unfortunately, this wage gap is not narrowing. "The persistence of the wage gap between men and

Table 3

Starting Salaries for Professions Requiring
the Same Educational Preparation

<u>Profession</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Predominant Sex of Workers</u>
Teacher	\$12,800	female
Engineer	22,368	male
Accountant	16,200	male
Computer Scientist	20,364	male
business Administration	16,200	male
Chemist	19,536	male

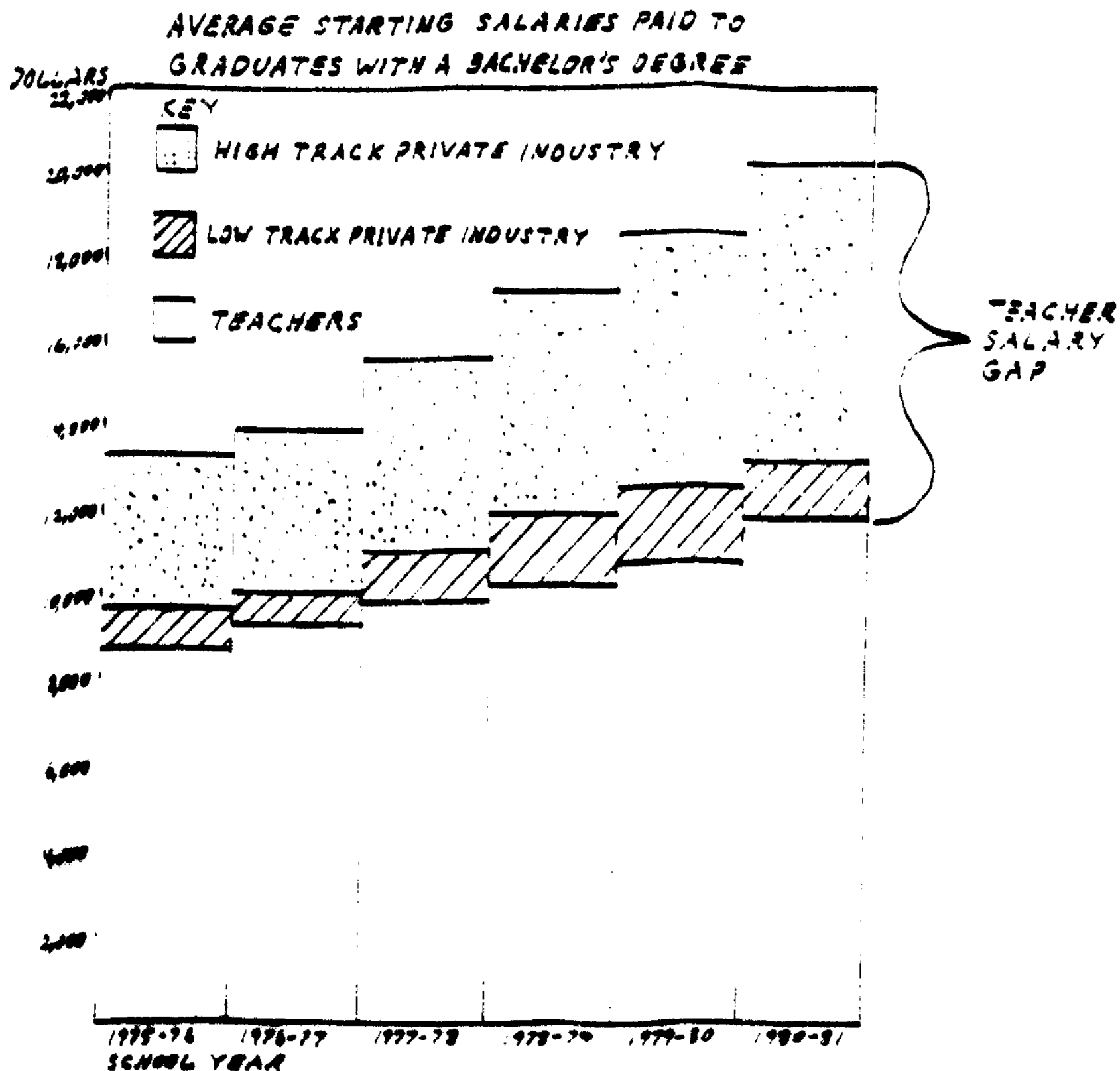
Starting salaries for Professions - Employees with Master's
degree

Teacher	\$14,079	female
Engineer	25,128	male
Others with Technical Degrees	23,850	male
Accountant	18,420	male

Source: NEA Research and Data Bank. ¹⁷

Table 4

Further Information Concerning Teacher Salary Inequities

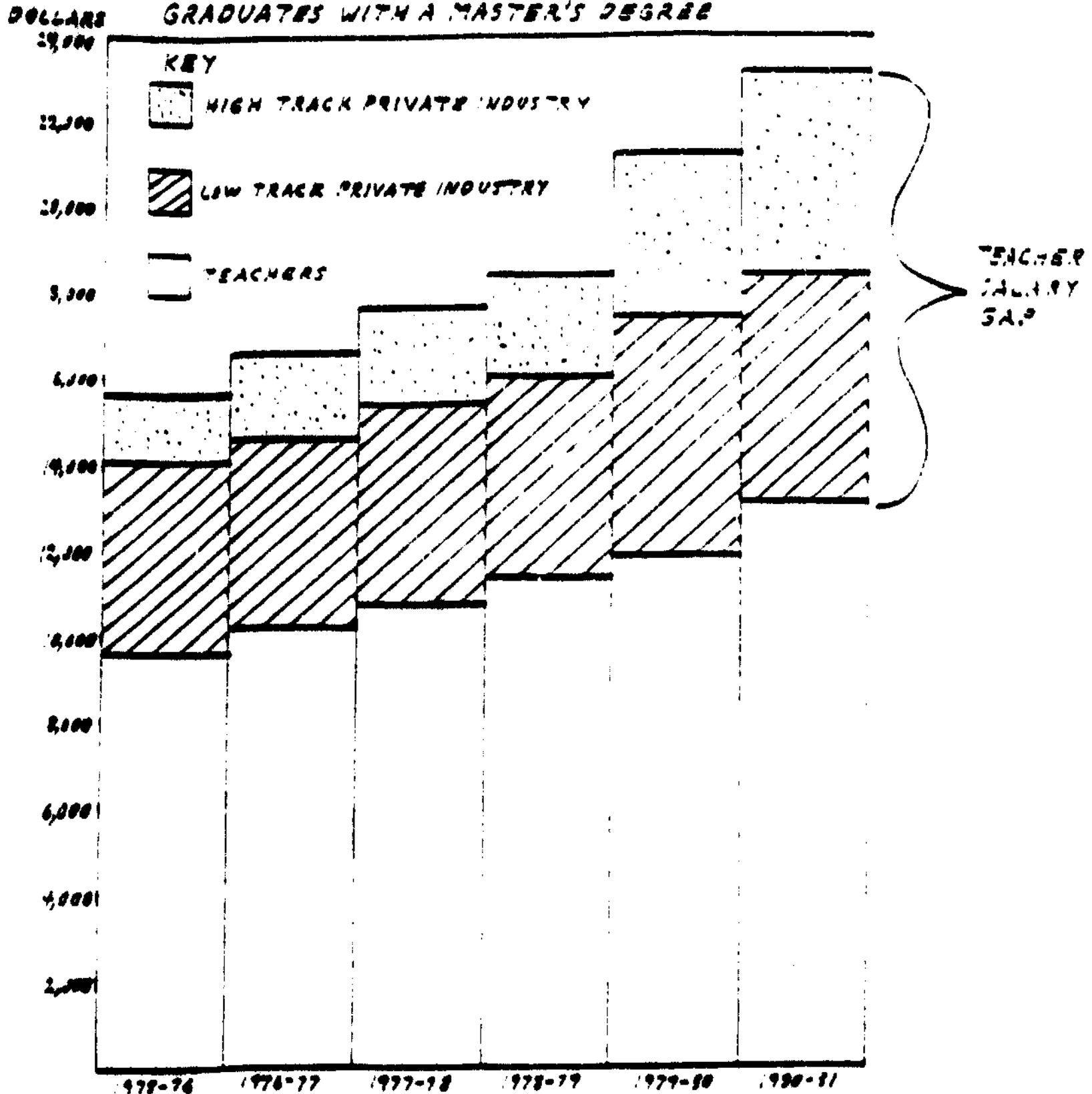


Sources: Private industry salaries from annual reports of Frank S. Endicott, Director of Placement Emeritus, Northwestern University. Salaries are based on offers made to graduates by approximately 200 companies located throughout the United States. Teacher salaries computed by NEA Research.¹⁷

Table 5

Further Information Concerning Teacher Salary Inequities
(cont.)

**AVERAGE STARTING SALARIES PAID TO
GRADUATES WITH A MASTER'S DEGREE**



Sources: Private industry salaries from annual reports of Frank S. Endicott, Director of Placement Emeritus, Northwestern University. Salaries are based on offers made to graduates by approximately 200 companies located through the United States. Teacher salaries computed by NEA Research.¹⁷

women illustrates its relative immunity from significant economic, demographic, and political changes of the past. The growth of white collar industries with their demand for female labor, the massive entry of women into the labor force, and the development and enforcement of antidiscrimination laws have not reduced the wage gap."²⁰ Over two thousand years ago, women earned 60% of a man's wage. Today, a woman earns only 59¢ to a \$1.00 of a man's earnings.

Importance of Women in the Work Force

The structure of society is changing. The labor force is younger and increasingly made up of women. Marital rates have changed and fertility rates have dropped. More women are seeking higher education.²¹ The proportion of women in the labor force has increased from 38% in 1960 to 53% in 1982.²² Women accounted for three-fifths of the increase in the civilian work force in the last decade (about 13 million women).²³ The Americans for Democratic Action found that, "Each year during the past decade, almost one million additional women joined the labor market, topped in 1978 by the unprecedented entry of 1.9 million women."²⁴ This increase in the percentage of women who are working has changed the composition of the labor market. In 1980, 43% of the work force was female. Future projections show even greater changes. Estimates show that by 1995, 65% of women will be working.²⁵ These women are more educated than their earlier counterparts. The Bureau

of Labor and Statistics (BLS) found that 46% of working women had attended college compared with 28% in 1970.²⁶ These women are also younger and many of them have children. BLS found that young women made up the largest portion of the increase in the numbers of women who work. In 1960, only 38% of the female work force was under 35 years of age. In 1982, 53% of the female work force was under 35 years of age. As BLS found, 55% of children under eighteen years of age have working mothers.²⁷ Furthermore, Department of Labor figures show that in 1979, 45% of women with pre-school children were working.²⁸

The persistence and extent of the wage gap is a crucial issue for women in the work force. These women work because they must support their families. "Nearly two-thirds of all women in the labor force in 1979 were single, widowed, divorced, or separated, or had husbands whose earnings were less than \$10,000 (in 1978)."²⁹ Many of these women were the sole support for their families. The Department of Labor found that 8.2 million households are headed by women. This number is growing at ten times the number of families headed by men.³⁰ The work force now consists of more women and these women often have families to support. These women need pay equity to survive.

Feminization of Poverty

Although women have become an increasingly important part

of the workforce, their earnings continue to lag behind those of men. This earnings gap affects the lives of eight million women and their children. Women are joining the work force because they need the money to support their families. They are living in poverty because of pay inequity. The earnings gap results in poverty.

One of three families maintained by a woman has an income below the poverty level. The overall median income of families maintained by a woman in 1981 was \$10,802 which is only 43% that of all married couples.³¹ As Table 6 shows, three fifths of all women earn less than \$10,000 per year.³² Income levels may be better understood in terms of poverty levels. Department of Labor figures show that families headed by a woman suffer disproportionately from poverty. While one in three families maintained by a woman live in poverty, only one in eighteen families maintained by a man live in poverty.³³

Table 6
Percentage of Women at Salary Level

Salary Level	Percentage of Women
Less than \$10,000	60%
Less than \$ 7,000	33.3%
Over \$25,000	1%

Source: Table was formed from figures provided by the Americans for Democratic Action.

Another way to show the comparative poverty of women is to examine the utilization of government services. Data from the Americans for Democratic Action³⁴ show that:

70% of Food Stamp recipients are women;
 66% of Legal Services clients are women;
 66% of all Medicaid recipients are women;
 60% of all Medicare enrollees are women;
 93% of all welfare recipients are women
 and their children.

Poverty has become the province of women. All taxpayers share the cost of the services which must be provided for these families to survive.

Older women also suffer disproportionately. Senator Kennedy cites statistics showing that over three-fourths of Americans over 65 years of age living below the poverty level are women. Unfortunately, the plight of elderly women will continue to worsen as the inequities that women suffer as workers are reflected in retirement plans. The National Federation of Federal Employees has found that, "because many pension plans, including the Civil Service Retirement System, factor earnings into retirement compensation, women continue to be penalized upon retirement for inequitable employment and wages practices."³⁵ Employees are also hesitant to offer the same retirement plans to women and men since women tend to live longer which is more costly for the employer. Already, women are more likely than men to live only on social security. For 60% of women and 46% of men, social security is the sole

source of income.³⁶ Until the discrimination that women suffer in the work force is eliminated, the relative poverty of elderly women seems inevitable.

President Reagan's economic and social policies have further exacerbated the problems of women, particularly those living in poverty. Senator Kennedy has referred to President Reagan's policies as a "scorched earth policy" claiming that 70% of the 1982 Federal Budget cuts came from programs to aid the needy (75% of whom are women).³⁷

In addition, President Reagan's policies have increased the unemployment of women. Layoffs in the federal sector disproportionately affect women because newly-hired employees are the first to be laid off and women usually have less seniority than men. A recent study by the Federal Government Service Task Force³⁸ found that women and minorities in higher grade scales were being disproportionately affected by reductions-in-force (RIFs). In administrative jobs, women were laid off at a rate over twice the average of all employees. These reductions remove much of the progress that women made in job advancement following the Title VII prohibitions of sexual discrimination.

President Reagan's policies also cause unemployment of women as spending is shifted from social programs (the service sector) to cover increases in defense spending. This is because most women are employed in the service sector of our economy and few women are employed by the heavy industries

that benefit from increased defense spending. "It has been estimated that every time the Pentagon budget goes up \$1 billion, women lose 9,500 jobs. A study in Michigan, reported by the Employment Research Associates of Lansing, shows that military spending under the Reagan Administration - which has shifted 35 to 40 billion dollars from domestic to defense programs - means 1.9 million fewer jobs for women in industry and in state and local government."³⁹ Increased defense spending implies decreased spending for social services which are mainly provided by women. The unemployment of women adds further to the numbers of women and families living in poverty and requiring assistance from the federal government.

There is little chance that without drastic changes these figures will become any less bleak. The National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity of the League of Women Voters has predicted that, "if the proportion of the poor who are in female-headed families were to increase at the same rate as it did from 1967-1977, the poverty population would be composed solely of women and their children by the year 2000."⁴⁰ This constitutes a feminization of poverty.

THE CAUSES OF PAY INEQUITY

An effective solution to any problem requires an understanding of its causes. As noted already, pay inequity has

existed in many societies for thousands of years. The earnings gap can be attributed to the structural discrimination that women have suffered for years, the qualitative differences between female and male employees, and primarily, the lower value placed on work performed by women. The failure of the Equal Pay Act to solve pay inequities reveals the true cause of the lower earnings of women. Men and women perform different work. Women hold jobs that are compensated at lower rates than work typically performed by men.

Structural Discrimination

Until passage of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, employers could legally pay men and women different wages even if they performed identical work. Employers had many justifications for this difference. Some felt that women worked only to pay for luxuries and did not deserve or need to earn as much money as men who supported their families. Others found that women were a cheap supply of labor. During the Equal Pay legislation debates in 1963, former Representative Findley of Illinois, argued that women are more expensive to employ. "One executive... said his company has made studies which show the average cost of employing women is about 30¢ an hour more than in the case of men. These costs relate to rate of turnover, flexibility for overtime hours, and special facilities - not to performance on the job. Most of these extra costs arise from the indisputable fact that women are more prone to

homemaking and motherhood than men."⁴⁾ Despite the efforts of former Representative Findley and his supporters, the Equal Pay Act passed. Following passage of the act, firms that had separate pay scales for men and women were forced to adopt a single wage rate. Furthermore, employers may not legally refuse to hire or promote a woman on the basis of her sex.

Theoretically, structural discrimination has been removed from the marketplace. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission handles claims of discrimination and cases have been successfully litigated. Law suits are expensive and threatening to many women who can't afford to lose their jobs even when they are discriminated against. However, the EEOC and the courts do handle cases of intentional and/or structural discrimination. This type of discrimination probably does not account for the large earnings gap.

Qualitative Differences Between Female and Male Workers

Opponents of comparable worth often argue that the earnings gap legitimately reflects differences between female and male workers. These differences are personal factors such as years of education, labor force experience, age, family size, weekly hours worked, etc.. In the Earnings Gap section of this paper, it was shown that wage disparities exist at every level of education. Furthermore, Department of Labor figures show that the average woman worker is as well educated as the average male worker. Both men and women workers have com-

pleted a median of 12.6 years of schooling.⁴² Thus, education does not appear to be a determinant of the earnings gap. The importance of labor force experience is not clear since wage disparities are evident in starting salaries. (Data was provided for nurses, teachers, and other professionals in the Earnings Gap section of this paper.) Also, data is based on the earnings of full-time employees so that weekly hours worked is irrelevant. Studies have been done to evaluate the importance of personal factors as causes of the earnings gap. This type of research is termed a 'human capital' approach. The National Academy of Sciences reviewed much of the research done with a human capital approach. NAS found that worker characteristics account for at most 44% of the female - male earnings gap.⁴³ Studies consist of multiple regression analysis in which different variables (worker characteristics) are held constant. The Bureau of Labor Statistics concluded that: "A fairly consistent finding from many studies of micro-data (Current Population Survey) is that the estimated female-male wage gap is reduced but not eliminated - as more economic and demographic factors are introduced into the analysis."⁴⁴ It is clear that a significant wage gap exists. Furthermore, the factors used to show why the wage gap is legitimate, such as labor force experience and weekly hours worked, reflect differences that exist because of the unequal status and role of women in our society.

Occupational Segregation

The extent of job segregation is quite significant. I will discuss the extent of job segregation in both the private sector and the federal government and then the reasons that job segregation exists.

Women are concentrated in low paying, dead-end jobs. Although the types of jobs held by men and women have changed, the amount of job segregation has not changed. New women workers have continued to enter jobs which have been traditionally female.

Table 7

Percentage of Workers Who Are Female by Occupation

Occupation	Percentage of Workers Who Are Female
	(in 1979)
Registered Nurses	96.87
Elementary School Teachers	84.3
Typists	96.7
Telephone Operators	91.7
Secretaries	99.1
Hairdressers	89.2
Waiters and Waitresses	89.4

Source: Equal Pay Fight by Sandra Stencel, p. 212.
March, 1981.

As the table indicates, jobs which resemble work traditionally performed by women in the home are filled overwhelmingly by

women in the work force. Additionally, most female workers hold these traditional jobs. In the 1970's, more than 40% of all women workers were employed in only 11 occupations: secretary, retail trade salesworkers, bookkeeper, private household workers, elementary school teacher, waitress, typist, cashier, sewer and stitcher, and registered nurse... Men on the other hand, are spread among all job categories.⁴⁵ Women work in a limited number of occupations while men hold many different jobs. In 1982, more than 50% of all women working had jobs in 20 of a total of 427 occupation.⁴⁶ These occupations are low paid and low skilled. The Americans for Democratic Action found that, "Eighty percent of women who work are in low paying dead-end clerical, sales, service, and factory jobs."⁴⁷ 'Equal pay for equal work' did not correct pay inequities because there is little equal work performed by men and women.

The concentration of women in an occupation is associated with low pay in that occupation. In other words, if a job is filled predominantly by women, it is likely that the pay is low. The National Academy of Sciences study concluded that "the more an occupation is dominated by women, the less it pays."⁴⁸ Bureau of Labor Statistics document this phenomena in Table 8 (see Appendix A).⁴⁹ As the table of current employment statistics indicates, a ranking of industries by percentage of employees that are female shows a high inverse relationship with a ranking of the same industries by level

of average hourly earnings.⁵⁰ The industries with the highest percentage of female employees (apparel and health services) also were among the industries with the lowest earnings.

Nursing and teaching are examples of female-intensive occupations that are low paying. Another example is librarianship. Women comprise approximately 80-85% of the professional library work force and 80% of the library assistant and support staff. Professional librarians usually have Master's degrees in library science. The first comparable worth study on librarians was done at the University of California-Berkeley libraries. The study found that the salaries of library workers were 25-27% lower than the salaries of other academic non-teaching positions. The librarians were mostly women and the other academic non-teaching positions were filled primarily by men.⁵¹ Librarians and also the nurses and teachers discussed earlier continue to be unfairly compensated for the work they perform. Most working women continue to be concentrated in a limited number of low paying jobs that provide little possibility of advancement.

Occupational Segregation and the Federal Government

The federal government should be a leader in solving the problems of our nation. As the nation's largest single employer with 2.8 million workers, the federal government has the opportunity to correct pay inequities and serve as an example for the rest of the country. Women comprise 32.9%

of the federal work force.⁵² Data show that the federal government pays women significantly less than men and segregates women into low paying job categories. The Office of Personnel Management gathers data on wage rates and job categories for a Central Personnel Data File (CPDF). CPDF data show that of white collar government workers, the typical man earns \$27,830 while the typical woman earns only \$17,483.⁵³ Thus, women earn approximately 63% as much as men for white collar government work. Salaries are closer for blue collar men and women. The typical male blue collar worker earns \$20,431 and the typical female blue collar worker earns \$16,041 or 79% as much. However, few women have blue collar government jobs. CPDF data also provides average salaries for job categories. The average man in one of the ten largest male job categories earns \$30,553, while the average woman in one of the ten largest female job categories earns only \$15,579.⁵⁴ Women earn only 51% of a man's salary when the ten largest categories for each gender are considered.

The cause of low pay for women in the federal government is the same as that in the private sector. Women are segregated into low paying jobs. The history of women in government illuminates the disparities which exist.⁵⁵ The Department of Treasury is credited with employing the first female government workers. "(Secretary Spinner's) rationale was that 'women can use scissors better than men and they will do it cheaper.'" Women were hired to cut treasury notes. Later,

women were hired as clerks. When the typewriter was developed, women's jobs were expanded to include typing. The U.S. Civil Service Commission's history states that "Women quickly caught on that they were well suited for typing." The invention of the telephone provided further employment for women as they became keyboard or switchboard operators. These tasks have remained the same for many female government workers.

The low number of women in the federal government's blue collar work force (only 9 of 100 workers is female) implies job segregation. Further examination of this CPDF data shows that only 19 of 38 occupational categories have as many as 350 female employees. There are 500,000 blue collar workers. Only three jobs had a majority of female workers. These categories are sewing machine operating, laundry working, and food service working. The laundry group of occupations has the lowest average salary of the blue collar occupations.⁵⁶ White collar jobs are similarly segregated. The largest federal job category is secretary. In the federal government, 99% of secretaries are female. The next largest category is clerk-typist which is 94% female. The majority of federal workers have jobs which are more than two to one of their own gender.⁵⁷ House (of Representatives) Information Systems analyzed the relationship between concentration of men in a job and the average salary of that job using CPDF figures. The analysis shows the effect of the employment of women on the pay levels

of an occupation. A job with no women pays an average of \$22,877.62 and a job with no men pays an average of \$9,488.15. For every additional percentage point of men in the occupation, workers earn an additional \$176.36. The same phenomenon is found in the private sector to a lesser degree. An additional percentage point of men in an occupation adds \$133.89 to earnings in the private sector. (See Appendix B for more information.)⁵⁸

Most federal jobs are compensated by grade scales. Jobs are evaluated and assigned a grade. Employees of the same grade are paid the same despite the differences in the jobs they hold. Women are concentrated in low paying grades. A 1980 study by the Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities of the House Committee on Education and Labor found that women represent nearly 80% of all employees at or below GS-4.⁵⁹ The average grade for women is 6.26. The average grade for men is 8.33. Table 10, included at Appendix C,⁶⁰ shows the distribution of female federal government workers by grade. Whatever method is used to compare salaries and occupational groupings, the segregation of female federal workers in low paying jobs/grades is clear.

The Reagan administration has not acted as a leader in eliminating pay disparities for federal workers or women working in the private sector. Attorney Winn Newman complains that, "President Reagan's appointees to the major civil rights enforcement positions appear to be uniformly hostile to the

programs they are supposed to administer."⁶¹ The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has not acted on any of the 226 comparable worth charges submitted to EEOC headquarters. Clarence Thomas, Chairman of the EEOC, testified at the September, 1982 House Pay Equity Hearings in favor of eliminating pay disparities.⁶² However, he declined to support or offer a promise of any positive action from his office.

Although the Commission has been engaged in an ongoing study of the issue of job segregation and wage discrimination, it has not yet issued a formal policy statement outlining the position it plans to take in the area of comparable worth. All complaints filed with the Commission raising this issue explicitly or implicitly are currently investigated in our field offices, then the case files are sent to headquarters where they remain, pending a Commission resolution of the issue.

When questioned about the hesitancy of the EEOC to take a more active role, Chairman Thomas stated that the office had limited resources and was severely backlogged due to cuts in funding and personnel. Another reason given for the lack of action on the matter was the unclear state of the case law. The EEOC interpreted the County of Washington v. Gunther case as a very limited, narrow decision that was insufficient to clear up confusion over the status of the comparable worth concept in the law.

Another representative of the Reagan administration took a position in opposition to the implementation of comparable worth by the federal government. Dr. Donald J. Devine of the

U.S. Office of Personnel Management, testified in support of the present job evaluation system.⁶³ His argument was that even if comparable worth is desirable, "... the path from problem to solution has not yet been identified and developed by anyone." Dr. Devine declined to accept responsibility for correcting pay disparities. He referred to the suggestion of Thomas Donahue, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO, that comparable worth "must be done in the private sector by joint agreement reached by labor and management. This means, in effect, relying on the market. This is the necessary answer to the question for the private sector. For the Federal government, we must follow the private sector."⁶⁴ Occupational segregation is a problem in both the private sector and the federal government. It seems unlikely that a solution will be freely offered by either sector.

Explanations for Occupational Segregation

Explanations for job segregation vary from the choices of women in entering professions to barriers which prevent women from entering higher paying professions. Perhaps, women do choose to become teachers and nurses irrespective of the low pay offered by those professions. The problem is that the occupations which women have entered are low paying. The question is whether women choose to enter low paying occupations or whether the occupations that women enter become low paying. Would these occupations be low paying if the employees were

men? Why are women concentrated in low paying occupations?

Socialization. The choice of an occupation is difficult for both men and women. There are so many different jobs in our society. For women, the choice of an occupation is further complicated by the conflicting demands of homemaking and a career. Until recently, for women the choice of an occupation was limited to jobs which resemble work performed in the home. Conflict between traditional notions of femininity and occupational or intellectual achievement is experienced by many girls and women. Achievement is highly valued and rewarded in American society. Yet, it is often viewed as unfeminine.⁶⁵

Socialization is a complicated process. Events and the influences of others affect a person's development from infancy through old age. As the above figure (Table 11) shows, there are many factors affecting a child's development. Males are treated differently from birth. As infants, males are tossed into the air while females are more likely to be cuddled and spoken to softly. As children, boys are rewarded for being aggressive, competitive, and forthright. Girls are encouraged to be gentle, perceptive, and manipulative. Women gain power through influence of men - by pandering to the male ego. As older children and as adults, men are evaluated by their academic and occupational achievements while women are judged by their skills in human relationships.⁶⁷ Toys and games differ for boys and girls. As young children, girls

Table 11

Socialization Influences that May Affect a Girl's
Achievements and Aspirations

FAMILY

child-rearing practices
role models
social class values

PEERS

boyfriends
girlfriends
social group memberships

SCHOOL

teacher behavior
counselor practices
textbooks

OTHER SOURCES

media
cultural and
subcultural factors

A GIRL'S OWN CHARACTERISTICS

personality
knowledge
values

OCCUPATIONAL-RELATED ACHIEVEMENT

academic achievement
occupational aspirations

Source: Ireson, Carol. Women Working. Theories and Facts In Perspective (Mayfield Publishing Co., Palo Alto, 1978) p. 180.

are given their dolls, dolls and tea sets while boys play with trucks and construction sets. Girls play house and school while boys play football.⁶⁸ As Table II indicates, schools, peers, parents, and the media all supply these conceptions of gender-related behavior. As girls internalize these conceptions of appropriate behavior, they lock themselves into positions inferior to that of men.⁶⁹ A girl learns to subdue her desire for achievement and hide her ambitions from her parents and others in society. As she limits her achievements, she also limits the occupations available to her as an adult. School counselors have been known to encourage boys to continue in math and science while girls study English and typing. Peers also encourage girls to limit their achievements. Studying does not lead to popularity for girls in most high schools. Instead, the popular girls are cheerleaders for the boys' athletic teams. Evidence shows that girls have higher achievement levels than boys until junior high when their advantage levels off and finally reverses in high school. Boys prepare for their roles as breadearners and girls worry about their looks and boyfriends. The media reinforces the traditional roles of women and men. For example, the Brady Bunch, still being rerun, portrays the happy mother and her housekeeper caring for six children.

These are generalizations certainly, changes have occurred in many homes, schools, and in the media. However, the traditional role of the woman as homemaker is far from gone.

The popularity of Marabel Morgan's The Total Woman, a book instructing women on the technique and benefits of being a sensual, submissive housewife, shows that many women prefer the traditional role of the woman.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the defeat of the Equal Rights amendment is an indication that many women, as well as men, are not yet ready to give up their traditional roles. Also, even if today's children are encouraged to achieve and/or develop skill in personal relationships regardless of sex, there will still be millions of women who were taught that women should be submissive to men. Even the children of today are exposed to unequal relationships in the home and the work force. Whether intentionally or implicitly socialized to be less competitive than men, most women have preconceived conceptions of their roles which cause them to be followers of men.

Socialization probably does account for the choice of and occupation. After all, by limiting their achievements, many women are forced to take jobs which encompass use of skills they learned in preparation for homemaking and motherhood. Also, these women conceive of themselves as less important than men. In one study, Judith Agassi compared the work attitudes of men and women.⁷¹

We see from Table 12 that the largest gap between the attitudes of men and women was 'self image as basic earner'. Women do not derive their self image from their work in the same way that men do. As mentioned earlier, women are judged

Table 12

**Thirteen Work Attitudes in Order of the Size of the Difference
Between Men and Women in Their Levels**

	Difference in Percentages
<hr/>	
Work attitudes that are higher for women than for men	
Concern for hygiene	+13.95
Direct satisfaction	+ 7.4
Work attitudes that are lower for women than for men by less than 5 percent points	
Concern for freedom	- 1.55
Composite satisfaction	- 2.15
Self-confidence	- 3.7
Emphasis on content	- 4.15
Work attitudes that are lower for women than for men by between 6-10 percentage points	
Concern for content	- 7.22
Commitment and attachment to employment and occupation	- 7.35
Superficial (inconsistent) satis- faction	- 9.7
Work attitudes that are lower for women than for men by between 11-20 percentage points	
Concern for union	-12.0
Instrumental orientation	-13.0
Interest in advancement	-18.7
By 21 or more percentage points	
Self-image as basic earner	-30.4
<hr/>	

Note: Higher means what is generally considered more
favorable.

Lower means what is generally considered less
favorable.

by their skills in personal relationships rather than by their occupations. A factor significant to the continued low pay of women was the difference in 'interest in advancement'. Agassi attributed this lack of interest in advancement to a perception that the chance of advancement was low and the high domestic workload of women. Without an interest in advancement, women will not strive for promotion or actively seek jobs of higher pay and/or prestige. Agassi found that when other conditions were equalized, the largest part of the differences in work attitudes was due to past experience of progress or its absence. The implication is that as long as women are secondary earners, they will remain in lower paying occupations. Furthermore, as long as women are socialized with the belief that their primary role is that of a homemaker or even that they have the responsibility for homemaking, they will not compete at a level equivalent to that of a male. After all, two jobs are difficult to work concurrently.

Clearly, socialization plays a role in the selection of an occupation by women. Socialization does not explain why those professions that women have chosen should be low paying. A woman may feel more comfortable teaching than driving a truck because of the positive reinforcement of nurturing behavior when she was a child. That is not an explanation for paying the teacher less than the truck driver. The woman may be more likely to accept a low paying job than a man because she does not base her self image solely on her status as an

earner but does that mean that her job necessarily has less value to society? And should past experience or knowledge of the experiences of others with difficulty advancing successfully in a career justify lack of pay equity for women? Socialization is only part of the explanation for job segregation and should not be an excuse to perpetuate the current inferior role of women in our society.

Discrimination. Pay disparities reflect discrimination in the market place rather than the desire of women to earn low wages. Some examples of the determination of wages in traditional women's professions show that low pay did not result from an unbiased determination of supply and demand in the market place. Rather, the social mores of a society where women were oppressed and restricted led to the use of women's skills without adequate compensation. Protective laws barred women from some occupations completely. Those occupations which were open to women were also poorly compensated.

The library profession, for example, began as an attempt to provide libraries with an educated work force at low cost. Women became librarians because it was a socially acceptable way to use their intellectual skills. The depressed wages of library workers have never been corrected to reflect the true value of the library professional - most often a woman with a Master's degree in library science.⁷²

Another example of the process of discrimination is nursing. Nursing began as a volunteer profession. Women volun-

teered in hospitals providing valuable assistance to physicians. The health care industry has changed from a charitable system to a profitable industry. Nursing wages have remained depressed although other hospital expenses have increased rapidly. As a result of the low wages paid to nurses, vacancies for hospital nurses are between 65,000 and 70,000 nationwide. If market forces operated in wage determination, nurses would receive higher wages. Higher wages would attract more people to nursing and the shortage would be eliminated. Instead, hospitals have employed less skilled workers and imported nurses from other countries rather than raise wages.⁷³ Nurses continue to earn disproportionately low pay with the result that patients suffer from the shortage of nurses.

The teaching profession also suffers from discrimination. Teaching, like nursing and the library profession, has long been an acceptable profession for a woman. Salaries for teaching have traditionally been low. The National Education Association found that highly qualified women and minorities routinely entered the teaching profession despite low pay because other jobs were not open to them. Now, fewer highly qualified women are entering teaching.⁷⁴ Quality education is the basis for assuring continuing productivity, improvements in technology, and provision of services in our nation. The value of the teaching profession has long been overlooked. Librarians, nurses, and teachers, are a few of the most obvious groups to suffer from low pay because of the large

numbers of women that fill their ranks. Similarly, shortages and lack of quality employees in each of these areas affects all people as the resources which women could provide are wasted.

The National Academy of Sciences study, Women, Work, and Wages: Equal Pay for Jobs of Equal Value, found evidence to demonstrate that jobs held mainly by women and minorities "pay less at least in part because they are held mainly by women and minorities."⁷⁵ Several reasons are given by NAS to show that discrimination is the root of pay inequities. First, when the value placed on characteristics used to set wages does not change, pay inequities will persist. Society changes and the needs of industries change. Wages should reflect these new values. This problem has caused much of the ineffectiveness of the FES Civil Service system. Second, differentials in average pay were acceptable prior to passage of the Equal Pay Act. These differentials are built into many wage structures. When employers were forced to eliminate dual wage structures, many did not revalue job characteristics but simply merged two scales into one and segregated women in the low paying positions. The third type of evidence used by NAS is the finding that many firms pay less for women's jobs even when the same scores were derived from job evaluation plans.

Use of the Job Evaluation Study. One of the major tools for comparing wage rates is the job evaluation study. Recent job evaluation studies have uncovered patterns of under-

valuation of jobs which are filled predominantly by women. Ironically, job evaluation systems have also been used by employers to determine wages. Many of these job evaluation systems have formalized and perpetuated discrimination against women.

Job evaluation studies conducted by public jurisdictions to evaluate the extent of gender discrimination typically involve three steps.⁷⁶ First, job descriptions are developed for the positions to be evaluated. These descriptions include the job requirements, a list of tasks to be performed, and the quality of performance expected. The second step consists of assigning points to each job. When the study is ordered by public jurisdictions, a committee of labor and management representatives might determine the point assignment. In the third step, jobs with similar numbers of points are compared by salary. If salary differences exist, the number of women and men filling the jobs is compared. These studies have consistently found widespread discrimination as discussed earlier in this paper.

There are problems with job evaluation systems. The EEOC Chairman, Clarence Thomas, cites three general problems.⁷⁷ First, job evaluations are inherently subjective. Someone must list the requirements, tasks, and expectations for the jobs being evaluated. Sex stereotyping may influence this process causing an undervaluation of jobs held mainly by women. For example, an evaluation of a secretarial position may

stress typing skills over administrative responsibilities.

A second problem is that job worth scores depend on the value assigned to particular tasks. Again, tasks traditionally performed by women may be undervalued. For example, physical exertion may be more highly valued than manual dexterity. Most job evaluation systems determine point values by examining wage rates in the market. This process perpetuates existing discrimination since market wage rates reflect discrimination. Job evaluation plans utilizing a committee of labor and management representatives to determine point value should be better able to determine fair point values.

The third problem is that many employers use different evaluation plans for different sectors of their firms. Thus, the employer may set up one evaluation system for blue collar workers and another for white collar workers. An industrial plant may evaluate machine operators on a separate system from that used to evaluate secretaries in the plant's office. This dual system allows for the undervaluation of the secretaries who are usually women. These three problems must be solved if comparable worth is to become established as a wage standard.

The federal government uses a job evaluation system which suffers from the same three problems encountered in private sector job evaluation systems. The Factor Evaluation System (FES) was established by the Office of Personnel Management to replace narrative interpretations for assigning value with

quantitative measures for setting wages. The National Treasury Employees Union studied the new (1975) system and found that, "... the FES was fundamentally flawed because it was still based upon the classification standards that had been in existence since 1923. Consequently, the system reflected the sex-bias concerning male and female job roles that permeated society 59 years ago."⁷⁸

Many examples exist that show the undervaluing of the tasks performed by women. Factors such as speed, use of technologies such as the word processor, and fine motor requirements which characterize women's jobs have been given low values. Relying on values assigned to skills before 1963 is particularly likely to result in pay inequity for women since prior to passage of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, sex discrimination was not illegal.⁷⁹ Continual revision of job worth is necessary to ensure that the proper assignment of points occurs.

A further problem with the FES is the initial assignment of women into low paying dead-end jobs.⁸⁰ Many jobs cannot be used as credit toward other job categories. For example, a secretary in telecommunications cannot receive credit for experience in telecommunications if she applies for a non-secretarial position. There is no mechanism for horizontal movement among most job categories filled by women. Dr. Devine of the Office of Personnel Management has argued that FES is objective and fair but the existence of job segregation

in the federal government is undeniable.

When used by public jurisdictions, the job evaluation is an effective tool for identifying discrimination in the determination of wages. However, the subjective nature of job evaluation has limited its success as a fair and objective system of setting wages. The use of a committee, rather than an individual employer, to determine point values seems to eliminate many of the problems with the present job evaluation systems.

Thus far, I have shown that a substantial earnings gap exists between men and women. The effect of the disparity in pay is the disproportionate number of women, and the families they support, living in poverty. The earnings gap is attributed to job segregation which is pervasive in the nation, including the federal government. Examination of the reasons for job segregation has shown that discrimination in the wage market has depressed the salaries of women and limited their occupational choices. Pay equity offers an alternative to the pervasive discrimination against women. In the following section of the paper, I will discuss the strategies and status of pay equity. Then, I will cover the reasons that pay equity has encountered widespread opposition from employers, including the federal government.

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STRATEGIES TO ACHIEVE PAY EQUITY

Supporters of pay equity encourage a variety of strategies to achieve pay equity. These strategies include litigation, legislation, union bargaining, and encouraging the federal government, as the largest employer in the nation, to enforce use of comparable worth as the standard for wage determination. The National Committee on Pay Equity, founded in 1979, has organized much of the work in support of pay equity.⁸¹ The committee is a national coalition with over 100 organizational and individual members including 12 international labor unions, major women's and civil rights groups as well as educational and legal associations. The committee provides leadership and coordination to its members and other advocates of comparable worth. It also works to publicize comparable worth issues on both national and local levels. Individual women's groups have been instrumental in organizing strikes and bargaining by and for union members, lobbying for job evaluation studies, and publicizing the issues. The four major strategies - litigation, legislation, union bargaining, and enforcement of comparable worth at the federal level - are goals that the National Committee on Pay Equity pursues concurrently, with support from its member organizations.

Litigation

The courts have been used to achieve pay equity. Claims concerning pay disparities for equal work have been successfully litigated since passage of the Equal Pay Act in 1963. Claims that pay disparities exist between jobs of comparable value are more difficult to litigate. Courts are reluctant to support comparable worth claims because of both the controversy surrounding the Bennett Amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the difficulty of comparing the worth of jobs.

The Bennett Amendment provides that:

It shall not be an unlawful employment practice under this subchapter for an employer to differentiate upon the basis of sex in determining the amount of the wages or compensation paid or to be paid to employees of such employer if such differentiation is authorized by the provisions of section 206(d) of Title 29. (own emphasis)

Section 206(d) of the Equal Pay Act prohibits:

sex-based discrimination in compensation for the same work except when the differential is the result of (i) a seniority system; (ii) a merit system; (iii) a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production; or (iv) a differential based on any other factor other than sex.⁸²

The dispute has focused on the word 'authorized'. Opponents of comparable worth interpret the amendment as precluding litigation of any claims under Title VII which could not also be brought under the Equal Pay Act. Proponents of comparable worth interpret the term 'authorize' to mean that a wage claim

under Title VII is subject to the four affirmative defenses of the Equal Pay Act.

Legislative history is often used by courts to interpret legislation. Legislators clearly chose to limit the Equal Pay Act to situations where men and women perform the same work. Until 1962, legislation contained comparable work language. However, following 1962 hearings on equal pay, Representative St. George offered an amendment changing the language of the equal pay legislation from 'comparable work' to "equal work on jobs, the performance of which requires equal skills."⁸³ Equal work legislation was reintroduced in the 79th Congress (1963) and finally passed as an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act. In 1964, the Civil Rights Act was the focus of many controversial debates. On February 10, 1964, Representative Howard Smith of Virginia, who opposed Title VII and most civil rights legislation, proposed the amendment to include sex discrimination as a final attempt to block passage of the Civil Rights Act.⁸⁴ However, the Civil Rights Act passed with the amendment including sex discrimination. In the Senate, Senator Bennett proposed an amendment to clear up concern over the relation of Title VII and the Equal Pay Act. Introducing his amendment, Senator Bennett said, "The purpose of my amendment is to provide, that in the event of conflicts, the provisions of the Equal Act shall not be nullified." Senator Dirksen also spoke, "The Fair Labor Standards Act (the Equal Pay Act) carries certain exceptions. All that the

pending amendment does is recognize those exceptions, that are carried out in the basic act."⁸⁵ It seems that the Bennett Amendment was intended as a technical clarification of Title VII.

The controversy over interpretation of the Bennett Amendment was only recently resolved by the Supreme Court in the County of Washington v. Gunther case decided on June 8, 1981.⁸⁶ The court concluded that the Bennett Amendment does not restrict Title VII's prohibition of sex-based wage discrimination to equal work claims. The court's reasoning included the technical nature of the Bennett amendment which the court interpreted as incorporation of the affirmative defenses of the Equal Pay Act. The Gunther case did not specifically allow for endorsement of the comparable worth concept. The case involved female jail matrons who received lower pay than male jail guards. The female jail matrons guarded fewer prisoners and performed some clerical work. There was evidence of intentional sex discrimination as the results of a job evaluation study were ignored since they would have resulted in higher wages for the jail matrons. The court supported the concept of job evaluation but also stated that, "respondents' claim is not based on the controversial concept of comparable worth...."⁸⁷

The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) v. Westinghouse Electric Corporation (1980)⁸⁸ case also supports an interpretation of the Bennett Amendment

as incorporation of the four affirmative defenses of the Equal Pay Act into Title VII. The Westinghouse case determined that establishment of current salaries based on wage rates established prior to 1964 when separate pay scales existed for male and female employees was discriminatory. As in the Gunther case, comparable worth was not the issue.

Comparable worth cases have not yet succeeded. Lemons v. City of Denver (1980) involved city nurses who claimed that nursing was historically an underpaid occupation because it was predominantly female. The court refused to compare the worth of the city's nursing positions with other city positions claiming a lack of clear congressional directive. This case could now be litigated based on the Gunther decision. Another case, Christensen v. Iowa (1977) involved clerical workers who claimed undercompensation when compared with physical plant employees. The court decided that the clerical workers did not have a prima facie case because market values accounted for the wage differential.⁸⁹

Following the Gunther decision, the emphasis on wage discrimination claims has been on structuring the claims like racial discrimination claims under Title VII.⁹⁰ An article by Hydee Feldstein, in the Columbia Law Review, describes three types of equal pay claims. The easiest claim to successfully litigate is that made by the jail matrons in County of Washington v. Gunther. The plaintiff must show that the application of standards was discriminatory. The court does not

need to evaluate the criteria or substance of the standards.

The second type of claim is that the standards were developed discriminatorily. The IUE v. Westinghouse case was of this type. The merging of two formerly separate pay scales perpetuated past discrimination and thus, was disallowed. The first two types of claims are relatively easy to litigate because the court does not need to determine the value of the jobs.

The most difficult type of claim is that standards are discriminatory. This type of case is the core of the comparable worth controversy. In Lemons v. City of Denver and in Christensen v. Iowa, the court refused to address comparable worth issues. In this type of case, which following Gunther the court can no longer refuse to hear, the plaintiff must show that the determination of salaries disproportionately affected the group of women. Then, the burden of proof will be on the defendant/employer to show that wage determination was based on a factor other than sex. Comparable worth cases may be difficult to win but the structure is established. The legal system offers a viable way to force employers to consider, if not adopt, comparable worth as a standard for determining the value of jobs.

Legislation

Comparable worth is a policy issue. Some of the court's reluctance to support comparable worth claims may reflect a

preference for legislative determination of policy.⁹¹ Legislation can take several forms. Senator Kennedy recommends that congressional oversight of the EEOC be improved to ensure support and positive action on the comparable worth issue.⁹² Legislation by states has included the commission of job evaluation studies to determine the extent of wage discrimination and suggest remedies. Legislation can also take the form of comparable worth resolutions adopting comparable worth as the standard for setting wages. Legislation can also include support of public education on the comparable worth policy. Legislation, in any of these areas, is an important step in bringing equality to the job market.

Thus far, the federal government has not passed comparable worth legislation. Some state and local governments have taken legislative action on this issue. Job evaluation studies have been funded by over 25 state and local governments in the last several years. These jurisdictions include Michigan, Connecticut, Washington, Illinois, Maine, Wisconsin, Virginia Beach, and New York.⁹³

State governments have also passed comparable worth resolutions and laws.⁹⁴ In California, salaries for female dominated state jobs are set on the basis of comparable value. In Hawaii, resolutions requesting employers, public and private, to adopt comparable worth have passed. Minnesota has a law requiring that comparable worth be used for state laws and that a portion of the budget be spent for pay adjustments.

Some states have equal rights laws and laws which prohibit unequal compensation for jobs of comparable worth. These states include Alaska, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, North Dakota, Tennessee, and West Virginia.⁹⁵

With the support of these state governments and enforcement of these laws, positive action can be taken to implement comparable worth. However, there are many jurisdictions that have not been covered. Furthermore, the nation's largest single employer (the Federal government) and many state and local government must still accept the comparable worth concept.

Unions

Women have not traditionally worked with unions. Although women comprise over one-half of the work force, only 28.1% of total union membership is female. The occupations in which women are most often employed have the lowest percentages of union membership.⁹⁶ Unionized women have salaries 33% higher than non-union women. Union women also receive better benefits and have grievance procedures to handle sexual harassment.⁹⁷ Unions can also bargain for the use of comparable worth in the determination of wages. Unions can organize strikes when collective bargaining fails. Unions can also participate in the job evaluation process by negotiating the level of points/value assigned to job qualifications.

Unions have been successful in negotiating for comparable worth as a part of employment contracts. Many unions have joined the National Committee on Pay Equity. For example, in Santa Clara County, California, a union negotiated a contract giving clerical employees raises of 5-10% based on classification upgrading.⁹⁸ The Communications Workers of America negotiated with AT&T to establish a joint labor/management Occupational Job Evaluation Committee to develop a new job evaluation system with comparable worth as a goal.⁹⁹ In San Jose, California, bargaining was not successful. Thus, the municipal employees were forced to strike for 9 days after which they were given 5-10% wage increases for employees in predominantly female jobs.¹⁰⁰

Unions have an incentive to support women on the comparable worth issue. The role of unions is to secure wages and benefits for a group of workers higher than what they could achieve as individuals. If women, most of whom are not unionized, achieve pay increases with court battles and the support of women's groups, the future of union strength will be threatened.¹⁰¹ Unions have and should continue to support women in their efforts to achieve pay equity.

Role of the Federal Government

The federal government is in a position to become the model employer and supporter of comparable worth. Instead, the federal government lags considerably behind the efforts

of state and local governments and unions to establish comparable worth. Endorsement of comparable worth by the federal government would be an incentive to private employers to reevaluate their wage systems. Also, the millions of women trapped in low paying, dead-end federal jobs would be given a chance to earn fair wages.

The third day of the Congressional hearings on Pay Equity concerned the federal government. Many unions representing federal employees testified.¹⁰² Data provided on the extent of wage discrimination and occupational segregation in the federal government clearly indicate that the federal government must reform its wage system.

The Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 requires equal pay for work of equal value. This act has not been enforced.¹⁰³ There is no controversy concerning the standard for wage determination in the federal sector. The problem is that enforcement is not provided to implement comparable worth.

Most of the unions mentioned the need for an independent study of the federal personnel system.¹⁰⁴ The National Treasury Employees Union supports the establishment of a bilateral commission of representatives from labor, management, women's organizations, and academia to review FES for sex bias and to make recommendations for remedies.¹⁰⁵ The National Federation of Federal Employees also stressed the need for an independent study with the aim of finding long term solutions to wage discrimination problems.

Another suggestion was that the standards used in job evaluation should be evaluated at least once every ten years.¹⁰⁶ The NAS study endorsed the need for on-going review of the value assigned to job characteristics which are used to set wages.

A further suggestion was legislation to allow federal unions to negotiate over wages and job classifications.¹⁰⁷ Presently, it is illegal for unions to fill this role and employees sign an agreement relinquishing their right to strike with acceptance of employment. Given the clarity of the 1978 Civil Service Reform Act's adoption of the comparable worth standard, the federal government should act on one or all of these suggestions in a sincere effort to enforce comparable worth and eliminate pay inequities for federal workers.

The federal government can also support private market use of the comparable worth concept. First, use of comparable worth by the federal government will show private employers that pay equity is a viable and necessary goal. Second, the federal government plays a role in the private market determination of wages. EEOC enforcement of Title VII and support of litigation (perhaps some action on the 226 claims already in the EEOC files) is a necessary step for effective adoption of comparable worth. Litigation supported by the EEOC would also be an incentive for voluntary implementations of comparable worth as employers would avoid legal expenses. The EEOC needs increased financial and personnel support from the

administration. Increased support of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Program will also allow for increased enforcement of comparable worth.¹⁰⁸ The federal government has the resources needed to encourage nation-wide support of the comparable worth concept. The federal government should regain its position as the leader of our nation by supporting this policy which is needed by so many of our citizens.

The success of pay equity depends on the effectiveness of litigation, legislation, union bargaining, and use of the federal government. Given the extent of the earnings gap and the poverty it causes, knowledge of the role that job segregation and the accompanying wage discrimination, and suggestions which would alleviate the problems, it is difficult to imagine opposition to comparable worth from the women who need fair wages. However, there are many corporations who do not want to pay women more money. There are also people who feel that comparable worth is unworkable. Women and their supporters must continue to strive for the reform of the present system of wage determination and elimination of pay inequities.

Opposition to Pay Equity

Opposition to comparable worth has existed for many years. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 covered equal work because comparable work legislation had failed to pass for so many years. The opponents of pay equity may still feel that women belong in the home and, if working, do not deserve as much money as

men. However, the explicit arguments of the opponents of pay equity focus on the economic consequences of comparable worth. The Equal Employment Advisory Council, a Washington, D.C. based lobbying group, has provided much of the opposition to comparable worth. The EEAC consists of many large U.S. corporations such as Exxon, Sears, and General Electric.¹⁰⁹ The EEAC 1980 symposium presented panel discussions on the practical problems and results of comparable worth. The EEAC book Comparable Worth: Issues and Alternatives argues that comparable worth is an ill-defined issue which would cause an arbitrary realignment of pay.¹¹⁶ Opponents of comparable worth offer three basic arguments: (1) free market; (2) "apples and oranges"; and (3) cost.¹¹¹

The market argument assumes that wages are established by laws of supply and demand rather than discrimination. Furthermore, businesses argue that an increase in government intervention in the marketplace is both unnecessary and disruptive. They also argue that the courts and the EEOC are not well suited for determining the appropriate worth of jobs.

The market argument is based on several fallacies. Most importantly, women's wages do not reflect the market forces of supply and demand. The market is distorted by discrimination. Opponents are correct that it is difficult to show scientifically that discrimination is the major cause of the earnings gap. However, as discussed earlier in this paper, the most recent studies indicate that discrimination does

account for a large portion of the earnings gap. Market failure is evident when the actual process of wage determination is examined. For instance, the shortage of both nurses and secretaries should be accompanied by an increase in wages.¹¹² This increase has not occurred. Also, consider professions that are well paying when men fill them and low paying when women fill them. The positions of bank teller and secretary were prestigious and well paying when first established and filled by men. Now, bank tellers and secretaries are poorly paid and they are overwhelmingly women.¹¹³ Continued reliance on market rates to determine the value of jobs perpetuates discrimination of the past.

Fear of increased government intervention is unjustified. The government already interferes in the market - sometimes to the advantage of the industry (ie. Chrysler was given loans to avoid bankruptcy). The government already oversees enforcement of the Equal Pay Act and Title VII. A significant increase in government intervention should not be necessary.

The claim that the EEOC and the courts should not be determining the value of jobs seems reasonable. When proof of discrimination is found, the courts could require remedial action such as establishment of new wage rates based on a job evaluation system negotiated between management, employees, and perhaps unions and women's groups. The EEOC and the courts may not have to set the value of jobs but they are equipped to identify discrimination.

The "apples and oranges" argument is that it is not possible to objectively determine the value of two different jobs. Job evaluations are subjective. Yet, job evaluations are used regularly to determine the worth of jobs. "Almost two-thirds of the adult population in the USA are pay-graded by job evaluation schemes."¹¹⁴ The federal government publishes a Dictionary of Occupational Titles that ranks jobs from the most important to the least important.¹¹⁵ Comparisons are already being made. There have been problems with present job evaluation systems because many of them reflect past discrimination. Care must be taken to avoid repeating past mistakes. Dissimilar jobs may consist of equivalent tasks or characteristics that can be used for job evaluation. Overall, the present system relies on job evaluation. Comparable worth just emphasizes the need to eliminate sex as a factor for comparison.

The third argument is that implementation of comparable worth will be too expensive. After all, women are earning far less than they deserve. Virgil Day, of the Business Roundtable testified at the 1980 EEOC hearings that comparable worth is, "... a system requiring like pay for unequal jobs, a proposition which can be envisioned as a complete restructuring of the U.S. economy, costing billions of dollars." These costs have been divided into two areas.¹¹⁶ Comparable worth will have direct costs including regulatory expense and the expense to employers of establishing new job evalua-

tion systems. Further costs will come from the indirect effects of comparable worth. It is alleged that raising the wages of women will lead to the export of jobs, contracting out of business to avoid intrafirm job comparisons, and an increase in inflation. The argument then describes the effects of these costs on women who, since they are already poor, old, or working in firms not covered by Title VII, will be disproportionately affected.¹¹⁷ The latter extension of the argument is interesting but the cost argument is unfair and overstated.

The cost of correcting wage discrimination is overstated just as the cost of eliminating pregnancy discrimination, of enacting minimum wage laws, and of maintaining a safe workplace was exaggerated before legislation passed.¹¹⁸ Implementation of comparable worth would be gradual. Women have no desire to upset the marketplace so severely that any benefit they realize from comparable worth is outweighed by the effect of increased cost on the economy.

Cost is not a legal justification for sexual discrimination. The Supreme Court in the case of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power v. Manhart (435 U.S. 702 1978) stated, "That argument might prevail if Title VII contained a cost-justification defense comparable to the affirmative defense in a price discrimination suit. But neither Congress nor the courts have recognized such a defense under Title VII"¹¹⁹ Cost arguments are not relevant given the legislative

history of Title VII which shows that Congress did not "place a price tag on the cost of correcting discrimination in employment."¹²⁰ Cost is an issue when considering the method and the length of period for implementation of comparable worth. Cost does not justify allowing wage discrimination to continue. After all, women have been paying the cost of wage discrimination in the low salaries they receive.

The three arguments of the opponents of pay equity show only a reluctance to pay higher wages to women and to assume the costs of determining the amount of the increases. Reliance on a discriminatory market is not a reason to disallow comparable worth. Lack of a new and perfect job evaluation technique is not a sufficient justification for avoiding positive action or attempts to make the best use of resources that are available. And finally, desire to avoid paying for corrections of wage discrimination that women have suffered for years is not persuasive. Women need pay equity. Employers must cooperate and offer fair wages to all of their employees.

Conclusion: Policy Reasons to Adopt Pay Equity

A successful policy includes a remedy that addresses the needs that it purports to fill, that addresses the causes of the problems that it attempts to correct, and that is workable. The needs of women include elimination of the earnings gap and the poverty it causes. Comparable worth increases wages for women whose jobs have been undervalued. The cause of the

earnings gap is job segregation and the accompanying wage discrimination which results in low pay for female dominated occupations. Comparable worth directly confronts the cause of the earning gap by increasing wages where they are low due to job segregation. Finally, comparable worth is workable. Job evaluation systems have been used to identify discrimination and must now be adapted to ensure that the occupations that women choose are not unfairly compensated. The feminization of poverty in our society is a sad result of the oppression of women. Comparable worth is an economic necessity to the millions of working women in the United States.

EQUALITY AND COMPARABLE WORTH: SOME CONSEQUENCES OF PAY EQUITY

Pay equity (employment discrimination) is an issue among many which are of concern to women. Sexual harassment, wife-beating, and stress due to maternity, and rape are some of the serious problems suffered primarily by women. The ultimate goal of some in the pay equity movement is equality of women with men in every facet of life including social and economic relations. The concept of equality and the consideration of ways to achieve equality are complicated. I will discuss biological, economic, and social aspects of equality. Evaluation of policies which aim to achieve equality between men and women along one or all of these dimensions require a

variety of measures of equality. Equality of opportunity, equality of outcome, and "sameness" are the measures I use in this discussion. As I have argued in this paper pay equity provides women with economic equality which is determined by examining the relative wages of men and women in order to achieve equality of outcome.

Pay equity will also alleviate some of the other problems that women face. The primary effect of pay equity is the change in the economic status of women. As the economic worth of women increases, women will be more self-confident and more highly valued by society. These secondary effects should lessen maternity discrimination, sexual harassment, wife abuse, and inequities in the home. Thus, initially, comparable women would cause a change in sex role equity. Eventually, comparable worth may cause a change in sex roles.

Equality

People have differing conceptions of equality. Most citizens of the United States support the concept of equality for all. Many of these people, however, do not truly feel that all citizens are equal. Perhaps, they feel that people of different races or national origin cannot truly be considered equal to someone of their own background. They may accept the concept of equality in theory but will refuse to send their children to an integrated school or live in an integrated neighborhood or marry someone different from themselves. Equality

in theory also applies to the status of women in our society.

Equality can be defined in several different ways for women as well as those of different races or national origins. Equality can be seen as a biological equivalency. While most people now accept that people of different races are biologically equivalent, women and men are clearly not the same in a biological sense. Arguments have been made that women can now compete physically with men and the biological difference can be irrelevant if women choose not to have children.

Another definition of equality is economic equality. Genetic determination of intellectual capabilities implies that women and men have the same mental abilities. Economic equality could be interpreted as allowing men and women the same opportunities in the job market. Economic equality could also mean that women and men should have equal incomes.

A final definition of equality is social equality. Social equality is more difficult to define. I think of social equality as an acceptance of all people as individuals rather than as members of a particular race or sex. Social equality implies the elimination of the stereotypes and role definitions that restrict the opportunities of people subject to discrimination. For women, social equality requires that women and men share equally in housekeeping and childcare without the woman feeling that she is fortunate to have found someone who is willing to pitch in and help with jobs that are her responsibility. Social equality may follow from biological and economic equality.

Social equality is also the most difficult to achieve since it requires significant changes in the attitudes of the members of our society.

Since people hold different conceptions of equality, how will women know if they are equal? Several measures can be used to test whether women and men are treated equally. An initial attempt to achieve equality includes the elimination of the structural barriers to equality in our society or the provision of equal opportunity. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 was passed to ensure that women and men receive the same pay for equal work. Following passage of the act, firms that had separate pay scales for men and women were forced to adopt a single wage rate. Furthermore, employers may not legally refuse to hire or promote a woman on the basis of sex. In 1963, this was a significant achievement since many employers and citizens opposed even the elimination of barriers to the employment of women. As the earnings gap indicates, barriers to equality of opportunity have persisted despite the Equal Pay Act. The NAS study, discussed earlier, found that at least a portion of the earnings gap is the result of discrimination against women in the marketplace.

Comparable worth developed as an issue because people considered another method of determining whether equality has been achieved. The outcome of the supposed elimination of structural barriers to equality was examined. Clearly, equal pay for equal work had failed to produce an equality of outcome

in women's earnings. Comparable worth is an attempt to reach equality of outcome. The failure of the Equal Pay Act to eliminate inequities in pay provides evidence that it may be necessary to examine outcomes to determine whether or not structural barriers have been eliminated and whether that is sufficient to meet the economic needs of women. The relevant question is how the earnings gap between men and women can be eliminated. Job segregation has been found to be the cause of the low earnings of women. Solutions that equalize outcomes require radical changes such as the restructuring of wage rates and job values throughout society.

A third way to examine equality is to determine whether people are the same. Sameness is related to the definition of equality as including physical, economic, and social equality. I think of sameness as the ultimate extension of equality - a situation where people are truly viewed as individuals. Sameness for women implies that they hold the same jobs as men. Sameness means that job segregation is eliminated for women and people of different races and backgrounds. Sameness is related to a consideration of equality of outcomes in that a society may want outcomes to be equal in every respect. However, an equality of outcomes test, can be applied in a more limited manner to achieve equality of earnings rather than complete integration.

To reach the three kinds of equality, biological, economic, and social, then different tests, equality of opportunity, equality of outcome and sameness - to determine whether

equality has been achieved can be used. The achievement of biological equality is not under the control of the individual except with respect to the woman's decision to avoid pregnancy. In this latter respect, society may have structural barriers to biological equality such as laws limiting abortion and/or birth control methods which may, in turn, limit opportunity. Comparison of outcomes and sameness between men and women are less relevant as tests of biological equality in the male/female comparison for as long as some women choose to have children and as long as men cannot biologically bear children, men and women will not be biologically equal.

Relation of 3 Kinds of Equality to 3 Different Tests to Determine Whether Equality Has Been Achieved:

		Equal Opportunity	Equal Outcomes	Sameness
Goals of Equality	Biological Equality	Relevant	--	--
	Economic Equality	Relevant	Optimal	--
	Social Equality	Relevant	Relevant	Optimal

Economic equality can be measured by each of the three tests. Many people feel that elimination of structural barriers to economic equality is sufficient. However, the person

who truly values economic equality will go further. Equal opportunities may not produce economic equality if these opportunities are not equally provided or utilized. A comparison of outcomes may be a better way to measure economic equality. After all, how can one be sure that all structural barriers are eliminated if outcomes are not examined. A comparison of outcomes has been the impetus for comparable worth.¹²¹ In comparison to equality of outcomes, sameness has a problematic relation to economic equality. Treating women as if they were the same as men may not lead to economic equality for women. Women have traditionally been and still are an oppressed group in our society. Pregnancy may be a condition that requires special treatment if women are to be economically equal. If women were treated the same, pregnancy would cause a loss of seniority if the woman left work. Thus, the surest measure of economic equality is examination of outcomes.

Social equality is more difficult to measure. True social equality implies no need or impetus for measuring equality, for people would view each other as individuals and differences would be of no concern. Structural barriers would not exist in the society with social equality. Comparison of outcomes might be necessary as a step in determining whether social equality exists. Sameness may also be necessary for absolute social equality. Sameness between the sexes is termed androgyny.¹²² Some people see androgyny as a goal for the future and as the only way to achieve social equality. If

sameness is a requirement for social equality, then pregnancy of women would preclude social equality. One way out of this dilemma would necessitate qualifying the notion of social equality. Pregnancy would require a variation from the sameness treatment if equality is to be realized. This qualification could have positive effects for women if they were considered equal in all other respects and special when pregnant because society recognized the value of their ability to have children. Equality is a difficult concept to define and a difficult concept to realize in a society. This discussion is meant to raise some of the most important conceptual problems and lay the groundwork for the final section of this paper.

How Does Pay Equity Lead to Equality for Women?

Women have been oppressed both socially and economically throughout history. The low value placed on work performed by women is the result of social oppression and the cause of economic oppression. Pay equity would correct the social oppression, in part, by changing the value placed on work performed by women, and would eliminate the economic oppression by raising the wages earned by women. These changes would have a significant effect on both the social and economic relations of men and women. Economically, women would not be the victims of pervasive poverty if their wages were determined in relation to their value to society. Women and their child-

ren would be able to afford education and would not be trapped in dead-end jobs. Productivity would be enhanced for all sectors of society where women now experience discrimination. Furthermore, as wages are raised for jobs traditionally held by women, it seems likely that job integration would follow. Men might be more apt to accept jobs as nurses or teachers if those jobs paid well.

Feminist literature includes discussion of the difference between sex role change and sex role equity.¹²³ Sex role change requires a more drastic change in attitude and behavior of members of society while sex role equity implies a change in the value of roles traditionally held by women and men. Comparable worth will cause a change in the value of roles (or jobs) traditionally held by women. Thus, initially, comparable worth is an issue of role equity. The influence of socialization may encourage women to continue to choose jobs as teachers and nurses, leaving job segregation on the basis of sex intact. If occupational segregation continues, then the only effect of comparable worth will be a change in role equity. Economically, women will have achieved equality to the extent that traditional women's jobs include positions of comparable value as those of traditional men's jobs to which women may advance.

Sex role change may also follow. As the value of women's jobs changes, it seems logical that the choice of occupations available to members of our society will also expand.

Also, as the value placed on women's jobs increases, attitudes toward the value of women as members of society may also increase. Certainly, the economic oppression of women will be lifted along with the trappings of poverty - poor housing, poor nutrition, increased stress, and feelings of inadequacy. As women internalize feelings of increased value, society may slowly adapt to the new conception of women as equal members of society. As the economic and social stigma of 'women's jobs' is lifted, job integration will follow, since, it appears to me that, men and women are not naturally suited for any particular occupations on the basis of their sex. Eventually, I feel that comparable worth would lead to sex role change in our society, although further change may still be necessary before social equality is achieved.

Further Needs of Women: Pay Equality and Other Women's Issues

Pay equity resolves the issue of low pay due to job segregation, but other problems, such as maternity, sexual harassment, wife abuse, and unequal division of household labor, also affect the lives of women and reflect their relative powerlessness and oppression in our society. Pay equity will alleviate some of these problems as sex role equity and/or sex roles change. At the least, pay equity will increase the wages of women which will improve their economic welfare and enable them to have independence from men. Most likely,

improvement in economic well-being will result in improvements in the conceptions that women have of themselves. Also, an increase in the earning power of women will provide an incentive for correct valuation of tasks traditionally performed by women in the home.

Maternity Discrimination: Maternity causes many problems for women. Traditionally, women have been held responsible for the bearing of children and the ensuing care of their children. In families with sufficient income, women stayed at home to care for their children. Now, many women choose to work outside their homes for both economic and personal reasons. The burden of childcare has not been lifted for these working women. Many of them have young children. Few women have husbands who accept an equal share of childcare and home responsibilities.

Employers also discriminate against these women. Problems include the issue of maternity leave and benefits for the medical costs of pregnancy and childbirth. In 1978, the Supreme Court in the General Electric Co. v. Gilbert (429 U.S. 97 S.Ct. 401) case ruled that pregnancy was not a gender or sex classification but rather an "objectively identifiable physical condition with unique characteristics."¹²⁴ The court allowed an employer to exclude pregnancy from the disability benefits given to employees because it was a voluntary condition. In 1978, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was amended to

include a pregnancy disability amendment so that employers must pay sick-leave benefits ordinarily provided by an employer to women who have a child. Other countries provide pregnant women with benefits such as cash to compensate for lost earnings and insurance to cover the medical expenses of childbirth.¹²⁵ In the United States, women must take most of the responsibility for the care of their children. As a result, women lose time at work which leads to slower advancement in the job market. The attitude of employers and society that pregnancy is a voluntary condition is really a form of discrimination. To the extent that pay equity successfully raises the value of work performed by women, the role of women as childbearers will also be revalued. With comparable worth, loss of the woman's income would be as significant as loss of the man's income. It is more likely that tasks will be shared within the home. Society will also have a greater incentive to provide benefits for families with children such as child care facilities.

Sexual Harassment: Sexual harassment refers to the "unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a relationship of unequal power."¹²⁶ Sexual harassment sexualizes the woman's role outside the home just as it is in the home.¹²⁷ While the woman is still financially dependent on a man, the powerlessness of the family relationship is replicated on the job.¹²⁸ The precise frequency of sexual harassment is

difficult to measure. However, most women report that a common and serious problem. "In a study of all women employed at the United Nations, 19% said that sexual harassment currently existed in their jobs."¹²⁹ Sexual harassment is now recognized as a form of sexual discrimination and a violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Women will still suffer because enforcement of Title VII requires difficult action by the victim. A woman who makes a complaint about sexual harassment may have to find a new job because the old workplace is too uncomfortable. Also, women are still suspected of inviting the advances. Sexual harassment undermines a woman's career, confidence, and is a serious problem for all working women. To the extent that pay equity alleviates the financial dependence of women on men, sexual harassment should decrease.

Wife Abuse: Many women are beaten by their husbands each year. Some of these women are killed. This type of abuse is common. A study compared the frequency of violence in a group of 40 families with known problems of violence and 40 of their neighbor families who were used as a control group. The study found a high rate of violence in the control group families.¹³⁰ Over one-half of the control group families reported 1-5 instances of violence during their life as a family. Furthermore, over 20% of the families reported instances of violence twice per year to daily. The reasons that women stay with men

who harm them range from perceptions of their emotional needs to economic necessity or a combination of these factors. Wife abuse is a tragic result of the oppression of women. Victims of wife abuse live with men at every level of economic wealth. However, many of these women perceive that they are helpless without a man to care for them or provide for them economically. A woman may feel that she has no skills and lacks education. She may feel unable to support her children without her husband's income.

Pay equity can contribute to the elimination of this problem. When wages earned by women are equivalent to those earned by men, women will be released from their economic dependence on men. Similarly, the confidence of women in themselves will increase as their true value to society is recognized. It is possible that men will respect women more as their contributions to the family's income increases. A self-confident woman who is economically independent will be less likely to submit, it is hoped, to the humiliation and physical danger of wife-beating. The abused wife will be better able to perceive her alternatives and leave the troubled home. I do not suggest that support for pay equity should preclude support for services that aid victims of abuse; the benefits of pay equity will be realized slowly and abused women need support now. I do want to point out the variety of women's issues that will be affected by pay equity. Economic well-being contributes to the elimination of many problems including

wife abuse.

Inequities in the Home Social change is often associated with disruption and conflict in the personal lives of members of a society. The movement of women into the paid work force is one example of social change. Many women are working full-time although the wages they earn are far lower than those of men. Does this mean the value of their jobs for their families is lower than the value of male jobs? And similarly, if the value of the female worker is lower outside the home should she bear a larger portion of the burden of the work inside the home? The assumption is that women should handle it all if she wants to have a job. After all, the "supermoms" in the popular literature seem to cope. With careful planning and lots of energy, a woman is expected to pack the kids off to school in the morning, work a full-day, and then rush home to fix a nourishing meal for her family. Then she can spend her evenings cleaning the house and sharing 'quality time' with her children.¹³¹

Many women are tired of these expectations. There is no logical reason to expect a woman to care for her children and her home while working full time while her husband watches. Fathers, especially in two-parent homes, should be equally responsible for childcare and housekeeping. Even when there are contributions to childcare and housekeeping, the attitude is often, "please congratulate and thank me for helping you in

your work." Many are suggesting that families should share responsibilities. Elimination of the double-day phenomenon is possible now and, in fact, there are families where work is shared. There are even families where the conception of household tasks is of shared responsibilities.

Pay equity may help those families which do not recognize shared responsibility. As women's wages rise, the value of the woman's job to the family also increases. The woman's role in her family may become that of a more equal partner. Studies have found that women who are employed have a higher degree of power in their marriages.¹³² The conception of housekeeping and childcare as shared tasks is more likely to occur when women's work is appropriately valued.

These types of changes do not come easily. Role changes cause an increase in conflict and insecurity as people redefine their own roles and adjust to the changes in their lives. Stress accompanies conflict. Women are blamed for much of the stress and conflict in families today. Men feel insecure when women work, especially if the woman replaces his role as the primary earner.¹³³ Men feel uncomfortable doing work that their mothers performed. Moreover they may be uncomfortable with the power and self-confidence of women who find fulfillment outside of their families since it may indicate a loss of their control over women.

Allegations have been made that the addition of women to the workforce has pushed men out of jobs. Traditionally, men

have been employed. Women may be employed but that is not a necessary part of their role definition. Perhaps women try to continue their housekeeping and childcare tasks to make up for the time they spend away from their homes. Many women accept that their jobs are not as important as their husbands'. For example, how many men seriously consider the effect that a few years spent caring for their young children would have on their careers? Many men have told me that their wives can work if they can handle a job in addition to home responsibilities. Many people still feel that young children need a full-time parent at home with them.¹³⁴ Men feel that staying home for a couple of years, would hurt their careers and that women are more naturally suited for childcare. Certainly a two year break would retard a career. Perhaps, good childcare - ideally, at the workplace - is the solution. Another conflict occurs when one spouse receives an offer to relocate. Since women's careers are not considered as important as men's, women usually end up complying with the man's desires. Until men and women accept responsibilities equally, women will continue to suffer an unfair share of household responsibilities. As pay equity equalizes salaries and the value of women's jobs, a fairer distribution of home responsibilities should follow.

There are many issues that complicate and lower the quality of life for women. These are problems that require individual solutions. Pay equity can help to solve these problems since economic well-being adds to self-confidence, self-respect,

and the value and respect given by others to women. Women deserve equality. Women need equality.

CONCLUSION

The oppression of women throughout history presents a commentary on the lives of women. Pay equity is a step away from oppression and toward better lives for women. The direct effect of comparable worth will be the economic well-being of women. That alone justifies the adoption of comparable worth. Pay equity will also generate indirect benefits such as increased confidence of women and an increase in the value of a woman to her family which should lessen the burden of sole responsibility for homemaking. Economic well-being and improved self-confidence should also alleviate the problems of wife abuse and sexual harassment. Pay equity will help society benefit from the talents of all of its members.

By any definition or measure of equality, women are not yet equal. Comparable worth, with its emphasis on measuring outcomes, will help society move towards equality. Whether economic or social equality is reached, women will be substantially better off than they are now. There is no excuse for an earnings gap of 41¢ in the United States. If equality is to have true meaning in our nation, then we need pay equity

NOTES

¹Cole, Eunice, President, American Nurses' Association, testimony on September 21, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 2.

²Thomas, Clarence, Chairman of the Equal Opportunity Commission, testimony on September 30, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. Citation of General Order 16 on November 24, 1942. p. 3.

³Thomas, p. 3.

⁴Thomas, p. 5.

⁵Ferraro, Geraldine, Representative of New York, Opening Statement on September 16, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 2.

⁶Norwood, Dr. Janet; Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics, testimony on September 16, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 6-7.

⁷Perlman, Nancy D., Chair, National Committee on Pay Equity, testimony on September 16, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 3.

⁸Treiman, Donald J.; Hartmann, Heidi, Women, Work, and Wages: Equal Pay for Jobs of Equal Value, (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1981).

⁹Treiman, p. 92.

¹⁰Perlman, p. 3.

¹¹The Earnings Gap Between Women and Men, U.S. Department of Labor, 1979.

¹²Drinan, Robert F., President, Americans for Democratic Action, testimony on September 21, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 4.

¹³Examples of pay inequities are from Breaching the Next Barricade: Pay Equity for Women, (The Union for Democratic

Action Educational Fund, Inc., 1981) p. 6-7.

¹⁴American Nurses Association, p. 3.

¹⁵American Nurses Association, p. 9.

¹⁶Hatwood-Futrell, Mary, Secretary-Treasurer, National Education Association, testimony on September 21, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity.

¹⁷Hatwood-Futrell, p. 6-9.

¹⁸Hatwood-Futrell, p. 10.

¹⁹Hatwood-Futrell, p. 10.

²⁰Perlman, p. 2.

²¹Breaching the Next Barricade: Pay Equity for Women, p. 2.

²²Norwood, p. 1.

²³"20 Facts on Women Workers", U.S. Department of Labor, December, 1980, p. 1.

²⁴Breaching the Next Barricade: Pay Equity for Women, p. 2.

²⁵Kennedy, p. 1.

²⁶Norwood, p. 2.

²⁷Norwood, p. 2.

²⁸"20 Facts on Women Workers", p. 1.

²⁹"20 Facts on Women Workers", p. 1.

³⁰Drinan, p. 2.

³¹Norwood, p. 3.

³²Drinan, p. 3.

- 33 Breaching the Next Barricade: Pay Equity for Women, p. 1
- 34 Drinan, p. 3.
- 35 Waelder, General Counsel, National Federation of Federal Employees, testimony on September 30, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 2.
- 36 Graduate Women, July/August, 1982, p. 35.
- 37 Kennedy, p. 3.
- 38 Waelder, p. 3.
- 39 Drinan, p. 3.
- 40 Holmes, Julia A., Action Director, League of Women Voters of the United States, testimony on September 16, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 4.
- 41 Congressional Record, May 23, 1963, p. 9109.
- 42 "20 Facts on Women Workers", p. 1.
- 43 Treiman, p. 20.
- 44 Norwood, p. 8.
- 45 Perlman, p. 4.
- 46 Perlman, p. 4.
- 47 Breaching the Next Barricade: Pay Equity for Women, p. 3.
- 48 Perlman, p. 5.
- 49 Norwood, p. 16-17.
- 50 Norwood, p. 5.
- 51 Stone, Elizabeth W., Immediate Past President, American Library Association, testimony on September 30, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity.

⁵²Hutchinson, Barbara B., Director, Women's Department, American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO), testimony on September 30, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 6.

⁵³Schroeder, Pat, Representative of Colorado, Opening Statement on September 30, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 1-2.

⁵⁴Schroeder, p. 1-2.

⁵⁵The history of women serving in government jobs is described by Burton, De, National President Federally Employed Women, Inc., testimony on September 30, 1983 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 4-6.

⁵⁶Schroeder, p. 1-2.

⁵⁷Schoroeder, p. 2-3.

⁵⁸Schroeder, chart 4.

⁵⁹Connery, Vincent L., National President; Klepner, Jerry D., Director of Legislation, National Treasury Employees Union; testimony on September 30, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 2.

⁶⁰Hutchinson, p. 21.

⁶¹Newman, Winn, attorney in private practice, testimony on September 16, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 16.

⁶²Thomas.

⁶³Devine, Dr. Donald J., Director, U.S. Office of Personnel Management, testimony on September 30, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity.

⁶⁴Devine, p. 14.

⁶⁵Ireson, Carol. In her article, "Girls' Socialization for Work", Ireson relies on many psychological and sociological studies to show how girls are socialized to choose jobs that have traditionally been filled by women. Women Working:

Theories and Facts in Perspective, (edited by Stromberg, Ann H. and Harkess, Shirley; Mayfield Publishing Co., Palo Alto, 1973).

⁶⁶Ireson, p. 180.

⁶⁷Horton, Paul B.; Leslie, Gerald R., The Sociology of Social Problems (Prentice-Hall, Inc. New Jersey, 1981), p. 354-365.

⁶⁸Oakley, Ann; Subject Women, (Pantheon Books, New York, 1981). p. 93-112.

⁶⁹Ireson, p. 187.

⁷⁰Horton, p. 354.

⁷¹Agassi, Judith; Comparing the Work Attitudes of Women and Men (Lexington Books, Lexington, 1979). This chart is a summary of the many studies reviewed by Agassi. Each line of the chart is discussed in depth in the book. The chart can be found on page 244.

⁷²Stone, p. 2.

⁷³Cole, p. 4.

⁷⁴Hatwood-Futrell, p. 2.

⁷⁵Treiman, p. 93.

⁷⁶Perlman, p. 5.

⁷⁷Thomas, p. 8.

⁷⁸Connery, p. 3.

⁷⁹Newman, p. 23.

⁸⁰Hutchinson, p. 4.

⁸¹Perlman, p. 1-2.

⁸²Thomas, p. 5; Chairman Thomas' testimony included the language of both the Bennett Amendment and the relevant section of the Equal Pay Act of 1963.

⁸³Congressional Record, 1962, p. 14767.

⁸⁴Nelson, Bruce; Opton, Edward; Wilson, Thomas, "Wage Discrimination and the Comparable Worth Theory", University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform, Volume 13, Number 2, Winter, 1980, p. 231-301.

⁸⁵Found in International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers v. Westinghouse Electric Corporation (631 F2d 1094), decided August 1980, p. 1103.

⁸⁶County of Washington v. Alberta Gunther, United Supreme Court, argued March 23, 1981, decided June 8, 1981, 101 Supreme Court Reporter, p. 2242-2265.

⁸⁷County of Washington v. Alberta Gunther, p. 2247.

⁸⁸International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers v. Westinghouse Electric Corporation, 631 Federal Reporter, 2d Series, p. 1094-1115.

⁸⁹These cases were discussed by many authors including Clarence Thomas of the EEOC and Hydee Feldstein, "Sex-based Wage Discrimination Claims After Gunther", Columbia Law Review, Volume 81: 1333-1347, October, 1981.

⁹⁰Feldstein, (see above), a similar discussion can be found in Newman, Winn; Vonhof, Jeanne M., "'Separate but Equal'- Job Segregation and Pay Equity in the Wake of Gunther", University of Illinois Law Review, Volume 1981, Number 2, 1981.

⁹¹Lemons v. City of Denver (620 F. 2d 228, 10th Circuit, 1980).

⁹²Kennedy, p. 2.

⁹³Complete discussion and details of the New York Study can be found in McGowan, William L., President, Civil Services Employees Association, INC., testimony on September 30, 1982 at congressional hearing on pay equity, p. 1. Other states were mentioned by Perlman, p. 7.

⁹⁴Perlman, p. 8.

⁹⁵Perlman, p. 9.

⁹⁶McLennan, Barbara, "Sex Discrimination in Employment and Possible Liabilities of Labor Unions", Labor Law Journal, Volume 33, No. 1, January, 1982, p. 27.

⁹⁷Breaching the Next Barricade: Pay Equity for Women, p. 3.

⁹⁸Perlman, p. 8.

⁹⁹Bose, James B., Executive Vice-president, Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO), testimony on September 21, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity.

¹⁰⁰Perlman, p. 8.

¹⁰¹McLennan, p. 34-5.

¹⁰²Unions testifying on September 30, 1982 include: National Treasury Employees Union, American Federation of Government Employees, National Federation of Federal Employees, Civil Service Employees Association, Inc., Federally Employed Women, and the American Library Association.

¹⁰³Connery, p. 4-5; and Hutchinson, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴Including Hutchinson, p. 4-5; and Perlman, p. 16.

¹⁰⁵Connery, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶Connery, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷Connery, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸Kennedy, p. 2; and Ferraro, Geraldine; Representative of New York, Opening Statement on September 21, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity. p. 2.

¹⁰⁹Business Week, November 10, 1980, p. 100.

¹¹⁰Equal Employment Advisory Council (EEAC), Comparable Worth - A Symposium on the Issues and Alternatives, Proceedings of symposium on November 21, 1980 in Washington, D.C.

- ¹¹¹Discussed by Perlman, Newman, Waelder, Connery, Holmes.
- ¹¹²Holmes, p. 6.
- ¹¹³The reference to bank tellers was made by Ferraro, Geraldine; Representative of New York, opening statement on September 16, 1982 at congressional hearings on pay equity, p. 4. The reference to secretaries if from Newman's testimony, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁴Patterson, Tom T., Job Evaluation (Business Books, London, 1972) at p. xi; in Newman, p. 9.
- ¹¹⁵Perlman, p. 11.
- ¹¹⁶Nelson, p. 293.
- ¹¹⁷Nelson, p. 294.
- ¹¹⁸Newman, p. 10.
- ¹¹⁹Newman, p. 11 and Perlman, p. 15.
- ¹²⁰Newman, p. 11.
- ¹²¹The controversy concerns both choosing the best path to equality of outcome and weighing the value of achieving economic equality if it requires sacrifice by employers.
- ¹²²For a discussion of androgyny, see Olds, Linda, Fully Human, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1981).
- ¹²³Boneparth, Ellen, Women, Power and Policy (Pergamon Press, New York, 1982), Chapter 1.
- ¹²⁴General Electric Co. v. Gilbert (97 S.Ct. 401).
- ¹²⁵Adams, Caroline Teich; Winston, Kathryn Teich; Mothers at Work, Public Policies in the US, Sweden, and China, (Longman, New York and London, 1980), p. 33.
- ¹²⁶MacKinnon, Catharine A., Sexual Harassment of Working Women (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1979), p. 1.

- 127 Horton, p. 363-4.
- 128 MacKinnon, p. 216.
- 129 MacKinnon, p. 26.
- 130 Gelles, Richard J., The Violent Home: A Study of Physical Aggression Between Husbands and Wives (Beverly Hills; California; Sage Publications, 1972) p. 49 in Horton, p. 163-4.
- 131 Levison, Teddi, Silverstein, Mickie; Have You Had It in The Kitchen? (Grossett & Dunlap, Inc., New York, 1971).
- 132 Moore, Krisin A. and Isabel V. Sawhill, "Implications of Women's Employment for Home and Family Life," in Women Working: Theories and Facts in Perspective (Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1978) p. 206.
- 133 Moore, p. 209.
- 134 Moore discusses the consequences for children of having working mothers. p. 212.

Appendix A

Table 8

Table 1.--Employment and Average Hourly Earnings by Industry, July 1982
(Ranked by Proportion of Women Workers from Highest to Lowest)--continued

1972 SIC Code	Industry	All employees (in thousands)	Women workers (in thousands)	Percent of women workers	Rank of proportion of women workers	Average hourly earnings (AHE) 1/	Rank of average hourly earnings
41	Local & interurban passenger transit	230.0	57.4	25.0	31	7.43	33
50	Wholesale trade- durable goods	3126.0	766.0	24.5	32	7.99	28
26	Paper and allied products	659.4	149.1	22.6	33	9.40	16
35	Machinery, except electrical	2262.3	476.0	21.0	34	9.31	17
34	Fabricated metal products	1426.9	299.8	21.0	35	8.85	20
49	Electric, gas, and sanitary services	881.3	174.7	19.8	36	10.70	8
76	Misc. repair services	296.3	58.7	19.8	37	8.00	27
32	Stone, clay, and glass products	598.1	114.1	19.4	38	8.93	19
55	Automotive dealers & service stations	1659.8	319.8	19.3	39	6.28	40
75	Auto repair, services, and garages	582.0	100.6	17.3	40	6.68	37
37	Transportation equipment	1738.6	285.5	16.4	41	11.26	7
13	Oil and gas extraction	710.6	112.7	15.9	42	10.43	9
29	Petroleum & coal products	209.3	32.0	15.3	43	12.40	2
24	Lumber & wood products	630.8	91.3	14.5	44	7.63	32
42	Trucking and warehousing	1209.6	153.8	12.7	45	10.26	12
15	General building contractors	1039.5	122.1	11.7	46	10.41	10
33	Primary metal industries	909.1	105.8	11.6	47	11.38	6
10	Metal mining	64.8	6.3	9.7	48	12.24	3
17	Special trade contractors	2195.4	199.0	9.1	49	12.08	4
14	Nonmetallic minerals, except fuels	118.1	9.5	8.0	50	8.94	18
16	Heavy const.contract.	913.8	66.2	7.2	51	11.47	5
12	Bituminous coal & lignite mining	229.5	11.7	5.1	52	13.05	1

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Employment Statistics (Payroll Survey), preliminary data.

1/ Average hourly earnings are for all production and nonsupervisory workers.

Table 8 (cont.)

--Employment and Average Hourly Earnings by Industry, July 1982
(Ranked by Proportion of Women Workers from Highest to Lowest)

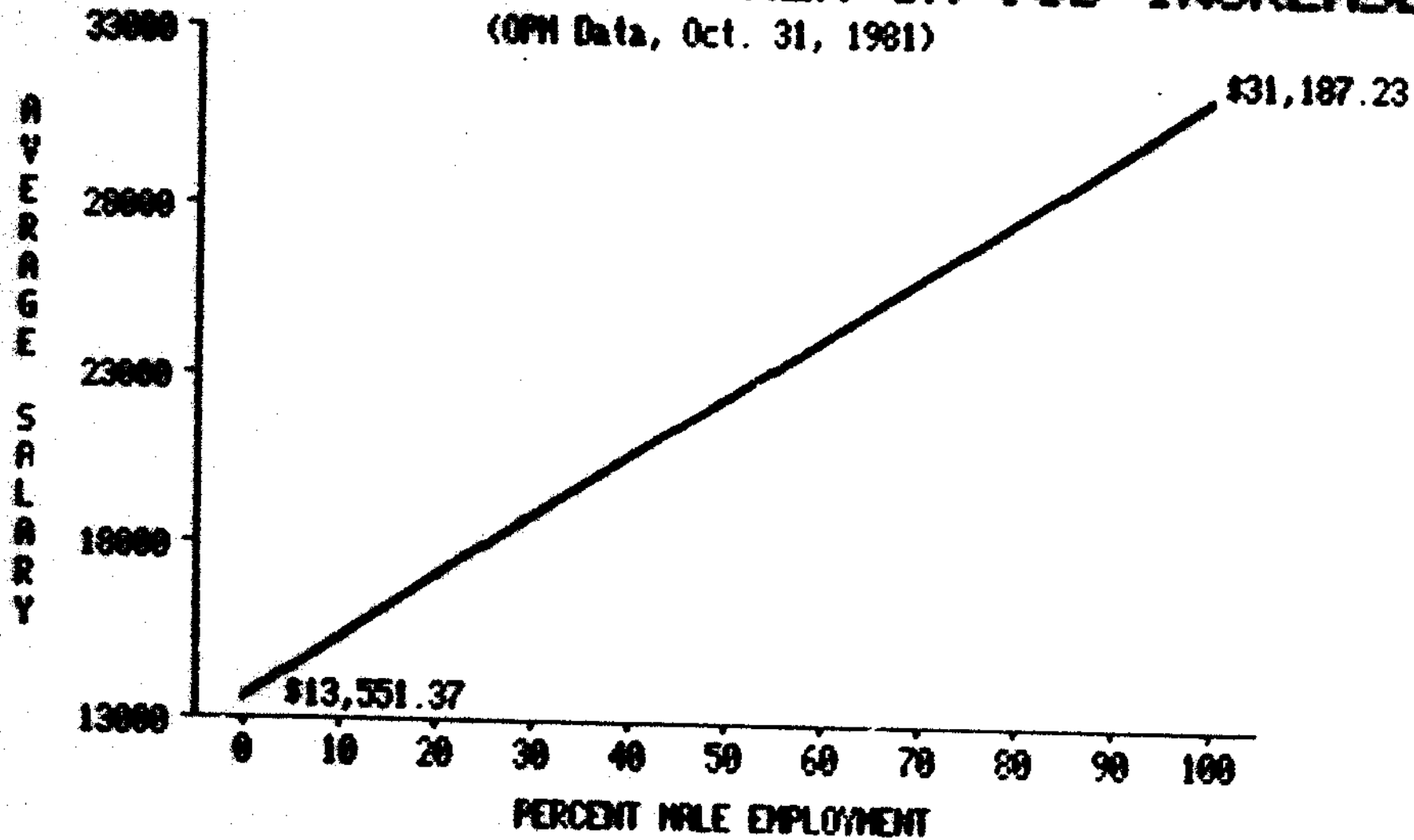
1972 SIC Code	Industry	All employees (in thousands)	Women workers (in thousands)	Percent of women workers	Rank of proportion of women workers	Average hourly earnings (AHE) 1/	Rank of average hourly earnings
23	Apparel and other textile products	1095.9	897.9	81.9	1	\$ 5.18	50
80	Health Services	5820.8	4732.9	81.3	2	7.01	36
60	Banking	1667.8	1180.6	70.8	3	5.80	46
56	Apparel & accessor/ stores	948.9	664.1	70.0	4	4.85	51
61	Credit agencies other than banks	587.7	409.7	69.7	5	5.99	43
81	Legal services	583.6	404.7	69.3	6	8.75	21
53	General merchandise stores	2193.8	1447.9	66.0	7	5.40	47
63	Insurance carriers	1230.5	745.9	60.6	8	7.70	30
31	Leather and leather products	195.7	117.8	60.2	9	5.31	49
58	Eating and drinking places	4883.2	2746.9	56.3	10	4.06	52
59	Miscellaneous retail	1950.1	1058.6	54.3	11	5.36	48
22	Textile mill products	727.0	349.0	48.0	12	5.81	45
39	Misc. mfg. industries	378.4	171.4	45.3	13	6.40	38
48	Communication	1397.8	627.8	44.9	14	10.01	14
54	Food stores	2463.2	1072.7	43.5	15	7.25	34
73	Business services	3304.1	1436.7	43.5	16	7.03	35
36	Electric & electronic equipment	2004.7	852.3	42.5	17	8.18	25
38	Instruments & related products	708.3	299.8	42.3	18	8.30	23
79	Amusement & recreation services	976.3	402.1	41.2	19	5.87	44
78	Motion pictures	227.6	92.5	40.6	20	8.22	24
27	Printing & publishing	1262.4	511.2	40.5	21	8.72	22
21	Tobacco manufacturing	60.8	22.0	36.2	22	10.32	11
30	Rubber & misc. plastics products	689.8	240.5	34.9	23	7.67	31
57	Furniture & home furnishings stores	586.5	200.3	34.2	24	6.20	41
89	Miscellaneous services	1069.0	363.0	34.0	25	10.22	13
25	Furniture & fixtures	429.1	129.1	30.1	26	6.33	39
20	Food and kindred products	1672.9	492.0	29.4	27	7.87	29
51	Wholesale trade- nondurable goods	2188.0	625.0	28.6	28	8.17	26
28	Chemicals and allied products	1075.0	280.7	26.1	29	10.01	15
32	Building materials & garden supplies	394.4	135.0	25.9	30	6.02	42

Appendix B

Table 9

**PAY OF FEDERAL WHITE COLLAR JOBS INCREASES
AS CONCENTRATION OF MEN IN JOB INCREASES**

(OPM Data, Oct. 31, 1981)



Appendix B

Table 9 (continued)

**All White Collar Jobs:
PAY INCREASES AS MALE CONCENTRATION
IN JOB INCREASES**

(BLS Data, 1981)



Appendix C

Table 10

Distribution of Women by Grade

GS	<u>All Agencies</u>		<u>Department of Defense</u>	
	No. of Women	% Women	No. of Women	% Women
1	3,151	73.7	1,031	77.7
2	17,596	76.7	6,157	79.9
3	82,539	76.7	32,423	82.5
4	170,653	77.5	55,404	79.9
5	192,072	77.1	58,824	72.5
6	89,303	72.8	23,608	69.9
7	132,926	53.9	24,704	46.9
8	30,690	52.6	3,692	35.9
9	160,837	41.2	19,118	31.4
10	28,858	37.9	699	12.2
11	163,892	24.5	12,151	18.0
12	167,398	14.4	6,799	9.8
13	117,147	9.6	1,753	5.0
14	63,847	6.8	423	2.9
15	34,619	6.5	130	2.3
Average Grade		6.26		5.65

Source: National Treasury Employees Union, 1982. (See footnote 59)

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September 16, 1982

Norwood, Dr. Janet, Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Perlman, Nancy D. Chair, National Committee on Pay Equity.

Kennedy, Edward M., Senator from Massachusetts.

Holmes, Julia A., Action Director, League of Women Voters of the United States.

Newman, Winn, Attorney in private practice, special counsel for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employee and General Counsel for the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Ms. Newman is also chairperson of the National Executive Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, and Co-chair of State Labor Law Developments Committee, American Bar Association.

Ferraro, Geraldine A., Representative from New York, Chair of Subcommittee on Human Resources.

Hart, Gary, Senator from Colorado.

Moffett, Toby, Representative from New York.

Norton, Eleanor Holmes, Professor, Georgetown University Law Center and former Chairperson, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

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Drinan, Robert F. President, Americans for Democratic Action.

Haywood, Doris P., Member of Committee on Occupational Classification and Analysis, National Academy of Sciences; and Hartmann, Heidi, Associate Executive Director, Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences.

Cole, Eunice, President, American Nurses' Association.

Bellak, Dr. Alvin O., General Partner, The Hay Group.

Kurtz, Ronald M., President, International Personnel Management Association and Executive Officer, California State Personnel Board.

Leach, Daniel E., attorney at law firm of Chadbourne, Parke, Whiteside & Wolff, and coordinator of the Washington Study Group, and former vice-chairman and acting chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Bose, James B., Executive Vice president, Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO).

Hatwood-Futrell, Mary, Secretary-Treasurer, National Education Association.

Sweeney, International President, Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO).

McEntee, Gerald W., International President, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Oakar, Mary Rose, Representative of Ohio, Chair of Subcommittee on Compensation and Employee Benefits.

Ferraro, Geraldine A., Representative from New York, Chair of Subcommittee on Human Resources.

Donahue, Tomas R., Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Schroeder, Pat, Representative from Colorado, Chair of Subcommittee on Civil Service.

September 30, 1982

Schroeder, Pat, Representative from Colorado, Chair of Subcommittee on Civil Service.

Thomas, Clarence, Chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Ferraro, Geraldine A., Representative from New York, Chair of Subcommittee on Human Resources.

Oakar, Mary Rose, Representative from Ohio, Chair of Subcommittee on Compensation and Employee Benefits.

Waelder, Catherine, General Counsel, National Federation of Federal Employees.

Devine, Dr. Donald J., Director, U.S. Office of Personnel Management.

Connery, Vincent L., National President, and Klepner, Jerry D., Director of Legislation, National Treasury Employees Union.

Stone, Elizabeth W., Immediate Past President, American Library Association.

Burton, De, National President, Federally Employed Women, Inc.

McGowan, William, L., President, Civil Services Employees Association, Inc.

Steinberg, Dr. Ronnie, Research Director, Center for Women in Government, State University of New York at Albany.

Hutchinson, Barbara B., Director, Women's Department, American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO).